DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 298 061 SO 019 291

TITLE Interpretations: A Student Journal of Historical Writings, 1988.
INSTITUTION Oak Park - River Forest High School, Oak Park, Ill.
PUB DATE May 88
NOTE 74p.; Some pages may not reproduce clearly.
PUB TYPE Collected Works - General (020) -- Collected Works - Serials (022)
JOURNAL CIT Interpretations; v1 1988

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS High Schools; High School Students; *History; Social Studies; Student Projects; *Student Publications; Student Research

ABSTRACT

This booklet features a selection of student prepared essays, poetry, research papers, and reviews about various historical subjects and social studies-related areas. These collected works include: (1) "To the Mayan Ruins at Chichen-Itza, Mexico" (W. McClure); (2) "Corruption in Collegiate Athletics and How It Damages the Student Athlete's Education" (D. Armstrong); (3) "The Presence of Evil in the World" (J. Lemley); (4) "Epidemics and Society: The Plague, AIDS and Their Implications" (L. Bolchert and others); (5) "The West, Islam, and the Crusader Mentality" (B. Laffler); (6) "On Governmental Legitimacy" (L. Jacob); (7) "The Emerging Nation State in Central Europe: Conservative Diplomacy in German Civil War and Italian Risorgimento" (B. Perman); (8) "We Are Not Russians: A Plea for Baltic Independence" (K. Christmas; M. Duda); (9) "Are All Revolutions the Same?" (C. Nelson); (10) A review of "The Progressive Era and the Reform Tradition" by Dewey Grantham (B. Arkenberg); (11) "Some Quotes on History"; (12) "Abolitionist Tactical Thinking as Seen through Means and Ends in American Abolitionism" (S. Ostertag); (13) "The Child" (M. Farruggia); (14) "Images and Realism in 'The Great Gatsby'" (B. Donovan); (15) "Leonardo Da Vinci (1452-1519)" (S. Hoisington); (16) "Victors' Justice? The Tokyo War Crimes Trial" (S. Smith); (17) "World War II Headlines: Clippings in a Cardboard Box" (A. Bowen); and (18) "Death: Realizing One's Own Mortality" (K. Bolonik). (JHP)

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# interpretations

## A Student Journal of Historical Writings

## 1988

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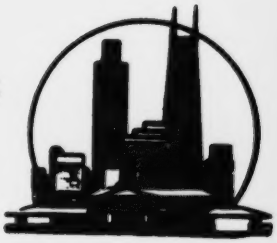
OAK PARK AND RIVER FOREST HIGH SCHOOL

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, GOVERNMENT, AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

Those Things That Are Best



Interpretations is the initial effort of the History Department to showcase, encourage and recognize some of the most outstanding writing now being done in our school. The essays, research papers, book reviews and other student work herein presented represents only a fraction of the work, both submitted and not submitted for publication, now being produced.

We regret that this first issue of Interpretations could not feature even more selections, but the need for variety, and the effort to feature different topics, together with budget and space limitations, presented the editors with their most difficult task -- choosing the articles to include in the journal.

We hope that this premier edition of Interpretations will enlighten, inform and entertain the reader. We have certainly been impressed with the serious, scholarly and creative quality of the many fine works submitted. Such efforts do give substance to our motto "Those Things That Are Best."

We would like to acknowedge the hours of dedicated effort by our typist, Mrs. Penny Calabrese, and our student illustrator, Adam Decroix, who designed the cover of the journal.

The Editors --

Mr. Averbach
Mr. Goldberg
Mr. Ostendorf
Mr. Pobst

May, 1988

TABLE OF CONTENTS

To the Mayan Ruins At Chichen-Itza, Mexico, by Wendy McClure. . . . . 1
Corruption in Collegiate Athletics and How It Damages the Student Athlete's Education, by David Armstrong. . 2 - 5
The Presence of Evil in the World, by Julie Lemley. . . . . 6 - 9
Epidemcis & Society: The Plague, AIDS, and Their Implications, by Lucas Bolchert, Andrea Gregor, Okko Grippando, Bridget Laffler, and Kendra Teal. . . . . 10 - 13
The West, Islam, and the Crusader Mentality, by Bridget Laffler. . . . . 14 - 16
On Governmental Legitimacy, by Luke Jacob. . . . . 17 - 19
The Emerging Nation State In Central Europe: Conservative Diplomacy In the German Civil War and Italian Risorgimento, by Ben Perman. . . . . 20 - 23
We Are Not Russians: A Plea For Baltic Independence, by Kiki Christmas and Maria Duda. . . . . 24 - 26
Are All Revolutions the Same?, by Carrie Nelson. . . . . 27 - 31
The Progressive Era and the Reform Tradition an essay by Dewey Grantham reviewed by Bob Arkenberg. . . . . 32 - 34
Some Quotes on History. . . . . 35
Abolitionist Tactical Thinking As Seen Through Means and Ends In American Abolitionism, by Genny Ostertag . . . . 36 - 45
The Child, by Melissa Farruggia. . . . . 46
Images and Realism in The Great Gatsby, by Barna William Donovan. . . . . 47 - 49
Leonardo Da Vinci (1452-1519), by Sarah Hoisington. . . . . 50 - 51
Victors' Justice? -- The Tokyo War Crimes Trial, by Sarah Smith. . . . . 52 - 62
World War II Headlines: Clippings In A Cardboard Box by Angela Bowman. . . . . 63 - 65
Death: Realizing One's Own Mortality, by Kera Bolonik. . . . 66 - 70

## TO THE MAYAN RUINS
## AT CHICHEN-ITZA, MEXICO.

by Wendy McClure

First I thought that maybe
the stones inherited texture
from the hands of their Mayan
fathers. Then I thought that
instead, the callouses on
their flat hands were the
children.
It's an old riddle,
but it occurred to me that
before, only rain forest lay here,
like green fire. And among
it walked a man, staring
at his palm as if in question,
and in the earth beneath his feet
was brooding rock, waiting
for shape.

# CORRUPTION IN COLLEGIATE ATHLETICS AND HOW IT DAMAGES THE STUDENT ATHLETE'S EDUCATION

by Dave Armstrong

For the student athlete, participation in collegiate athletics has traditionally meant providing an extraordinary athletic talent in exchange for a college education. The student athlete has lived up to his obligation; in fact, today's college athletes are bigger, stronger, faster and more talented than ever. However, many universities are failing to live up to their end of the bargain, and student athletes are being denied the education they deserve. The main reason for this problem is the increasingly corrupt practice of the athletic departments of universities in the country. College sports have grown into a big business, and the pressure to keep the money rolling in is what generates the corruption. (Business Week, October 27, 1986, 136) To keep the money rolling in, schools must win, usually in football and/or basketball, the sports that attract both a paying audience and television income. The corruption is so strong that "The attitude at the Southwest Conference," says a former NCAA investigator, "was that you did whatever it took to win." (140) And what it takes to win is top players. If that means admitting academically unqualified athletes and keeping them eligible by shunting them into courses that do not lead to a degree or engaging in illegal recruiting, some schools and coaches are willing to pay the price. (U.S. News and World Report, September 15, 1986, 63) But the ultimate price is paid by the athlete who is deprived of the education he needs to survive in the real world after his college days are over.

The first way student athletes are punished by the corrupt college athletic system is by being admitted to schools from which they will be unable to graduate. This happens when schools lower admission standards and academic requirements for athletes. For example, Tulane University President Eamon Kelly recently conceded that his school has "multiple criteria for admissions." (Time, October 28, 1985, 64) Nonathletes entering Tulane for an engineering degree need an SAT score of 1215, whereas a talented athlete may slide in with a 700. (64) Often these students flunk out after receiving little education, and have little else than sports to fall back on.

Once they get these academically deficient athletes entered, it is the school's job to keep them in school and eligible to play. Tony Biagas, head football coach at St. Augustine High School in New Orleans, says that while half the big-time schools care about players, at the other half "a kid is just a piece of meat to keep eligible until his time is up." (U.S.News 62) This creates the second form of punishment given to student athletes by the corrupt college athletic system. About the only way to keep academically weak athletes in school is to enroll them in courses of study designed to maintain athletic eligibility, which generally do not move students toward a college degree. Eventually, these students may graduate, but they will be

prepared to do little more than play ball. One Tulane basketball star was apparently enrolled in Food 1, Driver's Education and Beginning Golf (which he reportedly flunked). (Time 64) At the University of Houston, a recent investigation found that many athletes in their third and fourth years still had not declared a major or started a degree program. The probe also found that 59% of academically deficient athletes had either failed or not taken required remedial English. (U.S.News 62) Harry Edwards, a sports sociologist at University of California, Berkeley, says "I've known athletes...who are functional illiterates and have been here for four years. If this is going on at Berkeley, which is supposed to have such integrity, imagine what's going on at the jock-factory schools." (Time 64) The bottom line is that many college student athletes who graduate are not better off than those that flunked out -- they, too, are ill-prepared to face life because they have little more than athletic talent. "It's a plantation system," says Edwards. "They use up [the athletes], and when they're finished, there's no place to go." (64)

The third way athletes are victimized by collegiate athletics is that they are denied the opportunity to live a complete and normal campus life, which is an important element in a complete college education. The fact is that student athletes are not students in the usual sense of the word. Athletes do not live with the regular student body. By being segregated from the other students, athletes are denied the rich social and academic experience that comes from mixing with a broad range of students. Athletes are unable to make much contact with other students because college sports are incredibly time-consuming and involve a lot of travel. In fact, one University of Maryland academic counselor estimates that athletes at his school are off campus so often that "they miss up to 40% of their classes." (USA Today, July, 1987, 65) Thus, they are denied full access to the social and academic opportunity offered by their campus and therefore receive an incomplete education.

Proof of this neglect of the athletes' education by the universities can be found in the alarmingly low graduation rates at many schools. For example, at Memphis State University, only 4 of 38 basketball players have graduated since 1973. (Time 64) At the University of Texas-Austin 39% of the football players and 18% of the basketball players entering school between 1975 and 1981 got their degrees. (U.S. News 62) Biagas says that those who don't make it through college "usually end up in manual labor jobs. Often their enthusiasm for life is just snuffed out." (62) Of course, some student athletes get the opportunity to do what they are trained for -- professional sports. However, the odds of this happening are poor -- 77 to 1 for basketball players and 100 to 1 for football players -- and the ones who do make it can expect an average playing

career of no more than four years. (Time 64) So, the vast majority of college athletes are not headed for stardom, but instead will be dumped -- largely uneducated and unequipped to earn a living -- onto the job market. All too often, a kid either makes good in the NFL or NBA or does not make good at all. (USA Today 66)

Nevertheless, there are presently actions being taken and proposals being made in an effort to reduce the problem of undereducated college athletes. Perhaps the largest step forward has been taken by the NCAA by initiating Proposition 48. Proposition 48 requires entering freshmen to have a combined score of 700 on the SAT and a minimum grade point average of 2.0 in 11 core high school courses. Further, they must maintain this 2.0 average in college and after two years must show "progress toward a designated, legitimate degree." (Business Week 138) Some proposals include basing the number of athletic scholarships a school may grant on the proportion of student athletes graduated, introducing farm systems similar to those in professional baseball into the NFL and NBA, making all freshman athletes ineligible, shortening both the college football and basketball seasons, and eliminating all separate team housing.

Reassuringly, reforms are not necessary at all big-time universities. Conversely, many colleges have been successful in both educating their athletes and fielding competitive teams. At the University of Michigan, for example, a traditional powerhouse in both football and basketball, 71% of student athletes graduate, (138) including 80% of their football lettermen. (Time 64) Michigan has managed to make money on its athletic program as well. A similar situation exists at the University of Notre Dame, where 97% of its football players graduate and every single one of its basketball players has graduated in the past 35 years. (64) For several years, Duke University has allowed no appeals by coaches on its strictly academic admission standards. The result has been an 86% graduation rate among football players there. (64) Corruption is virtually nonexistent in the Ivy League, which prohibits athletic scholarships. (64) So clearly, corruption in athletic departments is not a problem at all universities.

Although not a problem at all schools, the problem of corrupt athletic programs neglecting to properly educate their student athletes, leaving them ill-prepared for much else than sports, is serious enough that Richard Lapchick, Director of Northeastern University's Center for the Study of Sport in Society, is correct in saying "we have a national scandal on our hands." (Business Week 136) Indeed, this is a problem that must be solved.

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# THE PRESENCE OF EVIL IN THE WORLD

By Julie Lemley

C. S. Lewis, an Englsh theologian and professor of literature, claims that both angels and devils are active as personal forces in the lives of humans. He believes God has allowed this hierarchy to come into being and claims to have seen evidence of these opposing forces in the course of his own life. The Screwtape Letters is a fictional and humorous series of letters between a devil named Screwtape, who is part of the hierarchy (called the "lowerarchy") of devils, and his nephew Wormwood, who seems quite new to the task of tempting humans and leading them away from God. Lewis does not talk about the existence of devils in the letters; since the letters are between two devils, a belief in their existence is implied. However, because this issue was not addressed when the letters first appeared in a periodical during World War II, Lewis returns to the question of whether he believes in devils in the preface to the book.

He states firmly that there is only one God who is self-existent from all eternity and that God has no opposite. This means that there is no one (like Satan) whose perfect badness opposes the perfect goodness of God. However, in response to the question whether he believes in devils, he states unequivocally, "I do." He argues this from the context of his belief in angels and his understanding that some angels, through an abuse of their free will, have become enemies of God and to us. (It is not entirely clear whether "us" refers specifically to Christians or more generally to humankind. The perspective from which Lewis writes implies that what is best for humankind is in fact Christianity, and in that sense perhaps both meanings can be properly understood.) Therefore, he asserts a belief in angels, and in fallen angels, which he calls devils. "They do not differ in nature from good angels, but their nature is depraved. Devil is the opposite of angel only as Bad Man is the opposite of Good Man. Satan, the leader or dictator of devils, is the opposite, not of God, but of Michael." (p. vii)

While the letters are written from the perspective of the devil (or fallen angel), there is evidence throughout the letters that these devils are in a battle with positive forces or angels. This can be seen most clearly at the end of the book when the human for whom Wormwood was responsible dies as a Christian, and Wormwood experiences the ultimate devil's failure, the loss of a human soul. It was only at the point of death that the human saw this -- "as he saw you, he also saw Them." This explanation through Screwtape continues as he says "the gods are strange to mortal eyes, and yet they are not strange. He had not the faintest conception till that very hour of how they would look, and even doubted their existence." But their existence was then clear because as he saw them he realized that he had always known them, and he became aware of the part that they had played at different times of his life when he thought he was all alone. "Now he could say to them, one

by one, not 'Who are you?' but 'So it was you all the time.'" (p. 147)

Lewis does not spend much time defending his belief in these personal spiritual forces. It does not seem appropriate to make a detailed philosphical critique of an implied belief that is expressed in fictional literature such as this work. Lewis acknowledges in the preface that his religion would not be in ruins if his opinion were to be shown to be false, but he states that this belief seems to explain a good many facts. These facts include the plain sense of Scripture, the tradition of Christendom, and the beliefs of most men at most times. He is concerned with the image of devils as they are presented in art and literature, and states that "they are given human form because man is the only rational creature we know" and that they "must be represented symbolically if they are to be represented at all." (p. viii)

He speaks of his own symbolic understanding of this by saying that "my symbol for Hell is someting like the bureaucracy of a police state or the offices of a thoroughly nasty business concern." (p. x) With this symbolism he eliminates "the absurd fancy that devils are engaged in the disinterested pursuit of something called Evil." (p. xi) Lewis finds angels entirely practical. "They have two motives. The first is fear of punishment: for as totalitarian countries have their camps for torture, so my Hell contains deeper Hells, its 'house of correction.' Their second motive is a kind of hunger. I feign that devils can, in a spiritual sense, eat one another; and us." (p. xi) This is a passion to dominate, almost to digest, one's fellow. On earth this desire is often called "love," but in hell Lewis senses that it is recognized as a ravenous hunger.

The role that God plays in this entire conflict is not discussed in detail. It was claimed at the outset that God has allowed these spiritual forces to be at odds, and Lewis does not present any defense for this position, which clearly has been in the mainstream of Christian thought throughout the centuries. It is evident both from the preface and from the context of the letters that while the devils have power, God is the ultimate authority, and the devils do have limits on what they can do to humans. Whether personal forces, negative and positive, battle within the life of every human being is a controversial matter. Clearly, Lewis sees these as spiritual (not physical) forces, but many would not see such an active interest taken in all humans either by God or by Satan.

I mentioned that Lewis has seen evidence of the battle between these opposing forces in his own life experience. While this claim could be called more speculation, the writings of C. S. Lewis as a whole, his experience and reputation as a Christian scholar, and the practical relevance of the book, seem to point to

a basis in Christian experience. This is not meant to imply that Lewis himself experienced all that is mentioned in the book, but simply that his experience as a Christian and his understanding of the Christian life all seem to fit together in this series of letters. The portrayal of human weakness or folly rings true and is likely to elicit responses in readers such as "I could see the devil trying to do that" or "I can see how that has happened in my own life." There is truth in the message that Lewis puts forth in this work, and while one could argue that he was inspired when he wrote this, it seems likely that he was writing both from a theological understanding of this conflict and from the practical experience of having dealt with this conflict as a Christian.

While I would not pretend to possess the literary skills of C. S. Lewis, I would like to attempt a brief letter in the fashion of those found in this book in order to illustrate the activity of both angels and devils as personal forces in the lives of humans.

My dear Wormwood,

I am very disappointed to read of the approach that you are taking regarding the patient's schoolwork. What makes you think that you can just sit back and hope that he will not be concerned about doing his best in order to get into college? Certainly this is the desired outcome, but you are careless and irresponsible to think that your inactivity will cause him to be apathetic about these matters. Your lack of activity is the precise approach that the Enemy desires.

The Enemy is always looking for the best in people, and therefore is encouraging this young man to pursue his academic interests with all of his energy. He has been given great gifts, and the Enemy will try to get him to use those gifts to their greatest advantage. This is the time for you to become active. Remind him that he isn't much smarter than other students in his class. Remind him of how hard he has to study, while other students seem to be able to do almost as well without putting forth much effort. Challenge him to take a more laid-back approach. Tell him the grades that he makes are not of great consequence in the overall picture of life. Remind him that the upcoming test, the paper due soon, are of little consequence for life twenty years from now.

Don't let him visit factories, or see people who are disgruntled with their work, people who feel trapped because they did not pursue their education when they had their chance. The Enemy has gifted your patient in so many ways. It is your job to find individuals, or groups of people, who outshine your patient in each of these areas. Urge him to

strive for mediocrity. Of course, since he belongs to the Enemy, he will never follow this advice if you give it to him directly. He knows that with the gifts he has been given, he should work his very hardest. He knows that with the help of the Enemy, he could do virtually anything that he wanted to do.

Remind him that the system is against him, that no matter how hard he works, much depends on luck. Remind him that good grades are only a part of what colleges are looking for; they also want well rounded people who attend parties and play sports and know how to enjoy life. Keep foremost in his mind the drudgery that he will face if he desires to attend a first-class college or university. Let him know of the rat-race that he will face, and that all of the studying that will be required "isn't really what a college education is all about." Challenge him to stay in the mainstream. People will like him better, and he will be more suitable for our causes. Whatever you do, don't sit back and hope we won't care. You have a job to do, and at this point you are failing. Get busy before it is too late; failure at this crucial point in his life could transform him into exactly the kind of person that the Enemy desires.

Meanwhile, I am happy to know that you are keeping him fighting with his parents and his brothers and sisters. That always displeases the Enemy and causes great joy throughout the lowerarchy. I will tell you more about dealing with domestic conflicts in my next letter.

Your affectionate uncle,

Screwtape

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13

## EPIDEMICS & SOCIETY: The Plague, AIDS And Their Implications

by Lucas Bolchert, Andrea Gregor, Okko Grippando,
Bridget Laffler and Kendra Teal

The headlines scream out at us, publications ranging from Cosmopolitan to scientific journals -- "Why Woman Aren't at Risk from AIDS", "Will AIDS Make the Black Death Look Pale?" -- chronicle the spread of the deadly AIDS virus. Looking back to the Middle Ages, the same preoccupation with a fatal plague is apparent, even though the images are on manuscript and canvas instead of newsprint. But while the media may differ, the messages do not. When a disease threatens mass death such as the Plague or AIDS, the people in a society first look to powerful and trusted institutions, such as religion or science, to teach them preventive measures. If the institutions' ideas are not effective, the public will soon develop impulsive and negative ways to cope by identifying the disease with certain groups of people and rationalizing its impact. This is apparent through denial, paranoia, scapegoating and stereotyping. The public's acceptance of impulsive and negative behaviors in favor of recommendations from their trusted institutions inevitably weakens those institutions and creates rifts between different segments of society, as well as causing economic and sometimes political upheaval.

For centuries before the Black Plague ravaged Europe, the Church was the most influential institution in medieval society. By the time the Plague began to spread, the Church had achieved so much power and respect that the population looked first to it for explanation, advice, and reforms. Yet the Church's inability to halt the spread of the Plague contributed to a gradual albeit complex, alienation of segments of Europe's population from the Roman Catholic Church. New institutions replaced the Church as a problem solving institution. Within the last century, science and medicine has played a dominant role in shaping Americans' lives. Medical experts are now using more sophisticated scientific diagnostic equipment, and are following many new health rules set down by medical experts. In recent years medicine has had many breakthroughs such as overcoming TB. Since AIDS has become a major health threat, the public has looked to the doctors and scientists to determine why AIDS is spreading, what could be done to prevent the spread, and what could cure it. Definite answers to these questions have been slow in coming. No cure has been found, and differing ideas on the spread and prevention are in evidence. If AIDS afflicts a large enough segment of the population, and the medical and scientific status quo is maintained, it is conceivable that our present day scientific and medical establishment could succumb to the fate of the Medeival Church. Already some communities have failed to be consoled by medical experts while considering how to deal with a citizen who has the AIDS virus.

Our instincts of fear and self-preservation go further than just looking to powerful institutions for answers to our questions. A reasonably

static system of societal reactions occurs when we are threatened by a disease that has the capability of causing mass death. These societal reactions have been especially apparent in the cases of AIDS and Black Plague.

One way to isolate oneself from the danger of a disease is to deny that you are endangered by it. This attitude is present today, in relation to the AIDS epidemic. As the Atlantic Monthly of February, 1987 said, "many people who know they are at extraordinarily high risk nevertheless dispense with even minimal precautions." Denial is evidently the case with the man who had engaged in sex with approximately 300 women in the past 10 years, was a walking AIDS encyclopedia, and yet did absolutely nothing to change his habits. People often refuse to admit that they can come in contact with a fatal disease, believing in their own immortality.

Denying the real danger of a disease is not limited to the 1980's. It was exhibited by many people during the 14th century when the Black Plague virtually decimated Europe's population. During that time, victims often stayed with dying family members, even if they knew they could become ill by contact with the sick. Some people were careless enough to take advantage of the stricken by robbing their homes, which brought the disease on all the sooner since any kind of touch or air exchange was capable of spreading the germs.

On the other side of the spectrum, however, there are those who react by becoming paranoid about keeping themselves "safe." In the case of AIDS, "hysteria" has caused many noted authorities to over-exaggerate the danger, severity, and spread of the epidemic. Otis R. Bowen, Health and Human Services Secretary, said that AIDS could rival or surpass the Black Death in the number of deaths caused in the next few years. One has to consider that the Black Death killed 65% of Europe's population, while AIDS is only expected to have killed 54,000 people by 1991 -- certainly not even close to 65% of the population of the United States alone.

Hysteria was also apparent in the Plague era when many brews and potions were unsuccessfully tried to stop the disease. People covered their black swellings with wet plaster and bled themselves. Incantations were popular and were tried by the desperate masses who were terrified of getting the disease. Doctors attributed the disease to a triple conjuction of Saturn, Jupiter and Mars in the fortieth degree of Aquarius said to have occurred on March 20, 1345. Wealthy people were known to have literally isolated themselves from society by walling themselves up.

A third way that people have isolated themselves from an epidemic disease is by catagorizing the sick by religion or lack thereof, or by economic status. To begin with, both AIDS and the Plague have been highly affiliated in the eyes

of the Church, with immoral acts that either cause or spread these diseases. Many of us have made ourselves feel safe by claiming that a disease is God's punishment for aberrant behavior. Even in today's supposedly "sophisticated", secular society, a recent Times-Mirror survey showed this to be a popular opinion among many Americans. With the Plague, however, society found actual scapegoats because they believed that Jews were poisoning their wells. An anti-Jewish movement arose in Europe. Jews were pulled out of their homes and lynched or thrown into bonfires, often not knowing what their "crime" was.

Besides religious persuasion, the stricken are simply stereotyped according to the type of people that are most susceptible to the disease. AIDS has primarily affected IV drug users, homosexuals, and prostitutes, although a growing number of heterosexuals have been infected. All AIDS patients are thought to fall under these three categories.

Once again, we see this happening during the Plague as well. Many people who contracted the Plague were poor, unsanitary, or promiscuous. Therefore, everyone with the plague was catagorized that way. This was a time when the vast majority of people were lower class and lived in very unhealthy, filthy, and overcrowded areas. As a result, the spread of the plague via rats was more common among the poor. Then, after more and more people were stricken, many poor people almost accepted their fate and lived for immediate but unfortunately dangerous pleasures. According to William Langer, "Drunkeness and sexual immorality were the order of the day." Because of these circumstances, most of the diseased were assumed to be poor and immoral also.

These often selfish and rash attitudes have taken their toll. The continuing rapid spread of an epidemic causes two effects: the separation of the healthy and unhealthy, and the disruption of the economy.

The complexity of the AIDS virus demands a great deal of money for health care. The fact that it costs more than it should is because most of our efforts are to isolate the sick, as a result of our tremendous fear of the disease. Special separate facilities for AIDS patients have proven expensive. Though other costs like advertising, research and testing are legitimate, they further point out the differences between the healthy and the sick. Rifts in society widen. For example, The Wall Street Journal of January 25, 1988, said that after the AIDS epidemic reached the public consciousness, advertising targeted at the homosexual community dropped drastically.

During the Plague era, the population drop caused the food supplies to drop also. Part of this was because the healthy may have been unwilling to help the sick for fear of the illness or even association with the sick. The

economy was thrown off because the peasant groups were mainly responsible for the food crops and they were hit the hardest with the disease. With so many people dying, there were more economic opportunities for the survivors. Many peasants left their fiefs to form an early urban working class and to raise their standard of living: a foetal middle class. Hence, the nobles lessened in economic power, forcing them to give their serfs more rights in order to keep them. With the decline of noble power, a growing middle class looked to the King for leadership. Along with the Hundred Years War this contributed to the modernization of Europe's economic structure and relationships.

The Plague was one of the climatic events of the Middle Ages, sounding the death knell for feudalism and the Church's dominance over Europe, hastening the rise of market economic relationships in some areas. Today, the rising prejudice against homosexuals, IV drug users, and prostitutes may bring on other drastic changes like the loss of civil rights for such groups. The lack of response from science and medicine may mean a loss of prestige for these institutions. We don't know if AIDS will be as dramatic as the Black Plague, yet we can tell that our impulsive and unfair reactions will only distract us from the issue of curing and stopping the disease.

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# THE WEST, ISLAM, AND THE CRUSADER MENTALITY

by Bridget Laffler

President Ronald Reagan said in an address that terrorism constituted an "assault on Western Civilization by uncivilized barbarians." In this case, the "uncivilized barbarians" were the people of the Middle East, people who have been misunderstood and misrepresented in the West for hundreds of years. We view the Middle East as "inferior", and feel that it should be converted to "Western" thought and culture -- an attitude that most in the Middle East realize and resent.

The West typically thinks of itself as a collection of individual bodies. The Germans are separate from the British and the French; the Christian Church exists independently of national politics. The West understands and glorifies its own diversity, and feels that it possesses the one true religion and holds the sole key to true "civilization."

In the eyes of most of the West, the Middle East is Islam. With the exception of Israel, Jordanians are indistinguishable from Lebanese or any other Arab/Persian/Semitic people. We scorn the non-ritualistic, atavistic, and theocratic traditions of Islam, without heeding the ideas at its core. Beyond the outward trappings, says Sheik Ahmed Zaki Yamani, Saudi Minister of Petroleum, "The real force of Islam is the feeling that you belong to a brotherhood with the obligation to serve that brotherhood and thereby serve God."

In part, the West cannot deal with the Middle East on equal terms because we view Islam as a sort of inferior "stepchild" of our own Judeo-Christian tradition. Islam has many Judeo-Christian characteristics, even accepting the existence of Jesus. To oversimplify, in some aspects Islam is viewed as a "continuation" of Christianity by the West. From a Western perspective, dealing with the Middle East is at times like dealing with a fun-house mirror reflection of itself -- a mirror that must be flattened to reveal an exact reflection.

The attempts to "flatten the mirror" have taken many guises. The first major attacks on the Middle East and Islam were the Crusaders of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in which the West attempted to take back the Holy Land from "Arab infidels", never caring that the Holy Land is holy for more than just the Christian faith. The Crusades failed miserably in their primary objective. In the view of historians such as Norman Cantor, the Crusades are not thought to have contributed to the opening of east-west trade and diffusion of knowledge that occurred nearly simultaneously. They served to stir up anti-Western feelings among Muslims, and isolated the Middle East from changes the West experienced in the Renaissance and Commercial Revolution.

The patronizing attitude of the West towards the Middle East is painfully apparent today. The state of Israel is its most obvious manifestation. Israel's founding in 1947 was the result of latent British colonialism, a guilt-based need to compensate the Jews felt by much of the West in the wake of the Holocaust, and of Cold War tensions over the allegiance of Middle Eastern states. Israel is the West in the Middle East, an outpost of Judeo-Christian tradition in a Muslim world. If the attitude of Emanuel Zippori, consul general of Israel to the Midwest, is an indication of mainstream Israeli thought, Israelis' view themselves as "representing the West -- democratic, modern, rational, progressive and with ... pretentions to independence [and] equality...." (Zippori) Israel is supported by most Western cultures, most notably the U.S., in its violent struggles with Palestinians and Shi'ite Muslims -- despite the Arab cultures' legitimate complaints against the intrusion of the state of Israel and the West into their area.

The West cannot afford to keep its present patronizing view of the Middle East. Anti-Western sentiment is growing. The American embassies have frequently been the object of attacks. "Terrorists" hold Western hostages, like Anglican Church envoy Terry Waite. The militant activities of Muslim fundamentalist organizations supported by Iran, like Hizbullah in Lebanon and Islamic Jihad in Egypt, are escalating. There is no end in sight to the Israeli-Palestinian violence in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The West has given the Moslem Middle East ample cause for resentment and hatred. Yet we cannot effectively deal with it because our own attitudes prevent us from effectively perceiving the Middle Eastern cultures.

Western interests in the Middle East are not reducible just to being liked or disliked. Oil is an important factor. Many of the economies of the Middle East rely on oil, and oil from OPEC is important to many Western nations. OPEC now provides 30% of the world's oil. In the United States, 17% of our oil comes from OPEC nations. While these figures are not as high as they were during the early 1970's, OPEC oil is still necessary -- both to the Western importers and the Middle Eastern exporters. (Lovins 26)

The stakes in the Middle East are high, and the aggression between the West and Middle East will only esclate if perceptions do not change. The Middle Eastern peoples must be shown that the West is not evil incarnate, and the West must realize that there is valid civilization that is not Western Civilization. The Islamic and Judeo-Christian traditions are not incompatible. There is strength in difference as well as in similarity.

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# ON GOVERNMENTAL LEGITIMACY

By Luke Jacob

What constitutes a legitimate government? Many people in different nations believe that certain other countries' governments are illegitimate. For example, many Americans probably believe that any Communist government, particularly that of the Soviet Union, is illegitimate. Is it or isn't it? To answer this question we must know what constitutes governmental legitimacy.

A government is legitimate if it meets certain standards; each culture has its own set of standards. In this essay I will argue for a particular pair of general standards which can be used to determine legitimacy. There are two categories of standards: those dealing with how a government comes to power and those dealing with whether or not a government is behaving legitimately once it is in power.

First, to be legitimate a government usually must come to power peacefully either through official legal transition or tradition accepted as law. I use the word "legal" because certain elections in and of themselves may not actually be conducted according to the laws. It is legal conduct of elections and not the elections themselves which makes them legitimate. The recent Marcos-Aquino elections in the Philippines, for instance, seem by no means to be legitimate because of the questionable legality of their execution. But because Aquino came to power by a popular uprising following her "loss" of these elections, is she a "legitimate" ruler? Before answering, another standard to be applied in judging the legitimacy of governmental births must be established. This is the criterion of popular support among the people. A government which comes to power by revolution can be considered legitimate if it is supported by a majority of the people or not opposed by a majority of the people -- and Aquino's government certainly has enough popular support to be considered legitimate. Another good example might be the American Revolution. The government in control of the colonies was Great Britain until the colonists staged a revolt. The newly formed government was accepted by a majority of citizens, or, more importantly, was not actually protested by a majority of the people. Historians may say that perhaps as many opposed revolt as favored it, with many people in a position of ambivalence. These undecideds are the critical group. Rather than a majority being against the revolt, at least a majority acquiesced to it.

The next major set of standards in defining a government's legitimacy is more important than the first, that is, the behavior of a government is more critical to its legitimacy than its origin. The standard to be used in judging a goverment's behavior is whether the government promotes the general welfare of the citizens. How can an observer determine whether a

particular government is promoting the welfare of its population? Events within the nation will indicate the appropriateness of a government. Actually, it is easier to determine that a government is behaving illegitimately than vice versa.

A government which mistreats for prejudicial reasons any particular group of people is consciously not advancing the general welfare of its citizens. The severity of this violation is dependent on the size of the group involved, but any prejudice-based mistreatment is a violation. South African "apartheid" is an excellent example. The white government clearly discriminated against the black majority. Therefore, regardless of whether that government's origins might be judged legitimate, its current behavior cannot be.

If a government is perceived by a majority of the people of a nation to be in the right, no matter what observers from other nations may think, then that government is legitimate, barring clear racial discrimination. But how can we tell if the citizens of a nation actually accept their government as righteous? If there are no major, heavily supported rebellions and if no minority group complains about systematic discrimination, then we can assume the government is legitimate.

Consider Nazi Germany. Hitler became Chancellor by quasi-legal means but he convinced a majority of the German people, for a while at least, that he was a deserving and competent leader. His government was legitimate in origin. But because his government systematically destroyed the rights of several distinct minority groups in the German population, his government then forfeited its legitimacy. But if he had not practiced systematic discrimination, the judgment of the German people, their acceptance or acquiescence to his policies, would have been the determinant criteria.

Using the standards I have offered, we are ready to answer the question of the legitimacy of the Communist government of the Soviet Union. Was that government legitimate in its origin? It did not come to power through an established legal transition but rather was born of revolution. But was the revolution popularly supported or was it resisted by a majority of the people? The time frame of reference is a very important factor here. But finally consider the present behavior of the government and the citizens' reactions to it. Has there been any substantial revolt or resistance to the policies of the government? No. Do the vast majority of the people seem to be accepting or at least tolerating the government's behavior? Yes. And does the government systematically discriminate against any distinct minority group in the population? Maybe the government, being atheistic, is biased against religious groups, but not to the extent that we might conclude that the general welfare of the population is not being advanced.

The answers to each of these questions, whether in the case of the Soviet Union or any other country, constitute my assessment of governmental legitimacy. Therefore, these also stand as a definition of my goals for any government.

# THE EMERGING NATION STATE IN CENTRAL EUROPE: CONSERVATIVE DIPLOMACY IN THE GERMAN CIVIL WAR AND ITALIAN RISORGIMENTO

by Ben Perman

By 1810, with the advent of Napoleonic mastery on the European Continent, the discontinuity in the regions of central Europe had been finally resolved. For the first time in modern German and Italian history, large political entities replaced smaller, uncooperative states. Another intregal part of the Bonaparte program was the introduction of the progressive thought that pervaded French society and law in the recently formed Cisalpine Republic and Confederation of the Rhine. These profound changes in the structure of Eureopean politics contributed to rising nationalist and Romantic thought that came to represent the post-Napoleonic era. Before these ideals could come to the forefront of affairs in Europe, however, conservatives had one last bout with the liberal agitation they believed threatened their positons. In an effort to reestablish the rule of weak, reactionary governments, the European powers agreed to the stipulations outlined at the Congress of Vienna that literally returned Europe to its eighteenth century state. The map of Europe had never been simpler. Yet, the liberal organizations who planned the overthrow of the old governments had never been as complex. Early groups led by such men as Mazzini in Italy were restricted to underground operations and never grew to any great proportions. As a result, each of the many revolutions that erupted in 1848 inevitably failed, stifled by reactionary government institutions that saw a great threat in the progressivism surrounding the subversive organizations.

It is ironic, then, that the more successful attempts at national unity were directed by governments, still conservative in attitude, that had been appalled by the idea earlier. In 1862, on the tide of a conservative reaction of East Elbian landlords, in Prussia, Otto Von Bismarck, an aristocrat himself, became Chancellor to Wilhelm I of Prussia. In Italy Camillo di Cavour was the Prime Minister to Victor Emmanuel of Piedmont-Sardinia. Both of these men eventually became the leaders of internal movements that brought about the creation of large and powerful nation states in Italy and Germany. It was obvious to these statesmen, as they began to work towards unification, that the proposition was no easy task. For years political forces, both domestic and foreign, acted to prevent coherent Central European states and these precedents in the continental balance of power were still inherent in nineteenth century diplomacy. Neither Cavour nor Bismarck, although they came to represent the culmination of struggles to unify these nations, intended to make national consolidation a fundamental aspect of their offices. (Taylor, 1960 101)

Regardless of their dislike for the nation-state, Bismarck and Cavour accepted the task of helping to bring the provinces that inundated Europe into large nations. In their efforts against disunity, both utilized a form of diplomatic behavior reminiscent of Machiavelli known as realpolitik. This stressed the "preeminence of power" in the realization of political goals that were intended solely for the betterment of the nation. (Binkley 28) They also had to traverse similar problems that surfaced during the course of each struggle. The differences that developed between the two nations, however, were more significant to a comparison of the German Civil War and Risorgimento.

The problems that provided the greatest difficulties in the unification movements were usually in both cases related to the issue of creating domestic support. When Bismarck was named to the Chancellery in Prussia, his main purpose was to attempt to maintain the ascendancy of the Junker social order. Bismarck's first position in enhancing Prussian power was conservative and centered around a reorganization of the Holly Alliance. But, upon realizing that this was far from possible, he embraced the notion of drawing together German potential in the name of Prussia. (Taylor 101) After witnessing the failure of ideological and national diplomacy in the early attempts at the creation of a German nation, Bismarck was certain that "The great questions of the day will not be settled by resolutions and majority votes -- that was the mistake of the men of 1848 and 1849. But by 'blood and iron.'" (100) This time the Prussian army would act as a forceful unifier of Germany. But unlike the professional standing armies of France and Russia, the Prussians needed money and material to equip fully for combat.

In his first overt action along the concept of realpolitik, Bismarck ignored the Reichstag's refusal to allocate government funding for a military build up and ordered revenue collection to expand the army further. Bismarck needed the fear of his Junker officers to propel the ranks into battle. It was this fear of the middle class in the Reichstag that continually threatened political ascendancy. (101)

Cavour was in a very different situation in Piedmont-Sardinia where a constitution assured the existence of a Constitutional Monarchy. Unlike Germany, the legislature was made up of extreme radicals and, on the other side, of reactionary factions. Cavour did not play off class antogonisms as Bismarck did but only maintained a conservative ministry capable of grasping power through the chaos within the Parliament. (Beales 73)

However important domestic politics were in the unification efforts of Bismarck and Cavour, their strengths as diplomats are revealed more successfully in their interaction with foreign politics. Both rulers knew very well that they had to act during

periods when European powers were isolated to unify the weak and still disorganized German and Italian states. Rarely could an alliance be depended upon and, for the most part, Bismarck and Cavour acted without the help of other nations. Germany was recognized as being a clear threat to the balance of power in Europe and a more or less benign Italy found that one ally, France, continued to quarter troops in Rome.

Very early in the process of unification, Bismarck knew that states would be drawn into a North German Confederation, and later the German nation, through a series of wars with foreign powers. Each war would have to come at a period of isolation for that target country to prevent toppling of the Prussian military by an alliance of Europeans. In his campaign against Schleswig-Holstein, Bismarck could disregard the London Conference that gave Denmark hegemony in the region because England had no means for deploying a land army on the continent to defend the region. France was committed in Italy and Mexico. And Russia was extremely careful not to jeopardize its the western border. Bismarck was convinced that the Russians would hold to conservative measures and once remarked on a Russian sentry guarding the spot where Czarina Catherine had once seen a flower early in bloom as an example of Russian tenacity. (Morgenthau 125) Bismarck's primary obstacle in foreign affairs was Austria which had long been looked to as the natural leader of the Germans. The liberal assemblies of Vienna appealed to the delegates of German states but repulsed the Conservative forces in Prussia. Bismarck, who began his career as a believer in a Greater Germany including Austria, was later forced to alienate the Austrian's calming them into complacency with a treaty over Schleswig-Holstein and then crushing the Monarchy at Koniggratz. (Taylor 106-109) Here Bismarck also managed to bring about the destruction of still more liberal sentiment within Prussia as all hopes for a Greater Germany with a more liberal structure were smashed.

In Italy, where a liberal undercurrent permeated the more conservative feelings in Cavour's government, the work was aimed at rectifying their ideals so that they fit the Sardinian concept of unification. Cavour already had the help of Mazzini and Garabaldi who had rallied support for an Italian nation in the Risorgimento. In the Red Shirt invasion of Sicily and the southern peninsula, Cavour installed a Sardinian military presence and, much to Garabaldi's frustration, took the region under control of the Piedmontese Monarchy. As in the North where states requested annexation to Piedmont, the spread of idealistic nationalism simplified Cavour's tasks immeasurably. (Beales 89-91)

Both the Prussian and Italian executives, Von Bismarck and Cavour, were very conservative in politics after the unification of both of their nations. Bismarck succeeded in removing

the German intellectuals from government where they led the developing industrial growth and Cavour was forced into a massacre of discontented peasants in Southern Italy. The greatest differences in the courses they took in unifying their part of Central Europe came in the situations that faced them. Cavour was presented with an Italy ready for unification but more than slightly intolerant of conservatism, whereas Bismarck had twice the trouble with Germans who were not so eager for unification and had to be pushed into conservative politics.

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# WE ARE NOT RUSSIANS:
# A PLEA FOR BALTIC INDEPENDENCE

by Kiki Christmas
Maria Duda

It would be easy for us to forget about the countries our parents have left behind. However, as Latavians and Lituanians, we know there are oppressive forces within our homelands that leave us with the responsibilty of preserving our national identities. Many trivialize our devotion and efforts because they don't understand the magnetism we feel for our heritage. They are not aware of the immediate threat facing the Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

"What many Americans do not know is that more than 400,000 Lithuanians were swallowed up in Russian and Siberian slave labor camps through mass deportations between 1941 and 1950, ripped from their homes by Soviet terrorists -- Soviet murderers. What many Americans do not know, is that 30,000 Lithuanian freedom fighters were killed in guerilla warfare, resisting the Soviet occupation." Gerald Ford, addressing Congress as House Minority leader, stated these words in 1970. The same story applies to the plight of Latvians and Estonians.

The nations of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have existed on the eastern shores of the Baltic for thousands of years. Since the 18th century, the three countries have been under Russian occupation, first, under the Czars, and then under the Soviet Union. Between the two world wars, the Baltic nations were independent countries. Then, in the early forties, the countries' short-lived freedom came to an end. During the following years of Soviet rule, the pressure to assimilate has been great, but due to the intense devotion of those who emigrated combined with the actions of those who did not, strong national identities have survived.

The threat of cultural extinction is very real within the borders of the Baltic nations. By the end of World War II, the population had been cut by one third. Those who did not have a chance to flee were either deported to Siberia, killed in battle, or executed. The remaining Balts did not readily accept the new Russian policies forced upon them. The Soviet government not only imposed communist doctrines on their victims, it also pushed its policy of Russification. Russian was made the official language and its use was enforced to the extent that native tongues were discouraged not only in schools and businesses, but also on the streets. The educational system developed into a tool for brainwashing, to attempt to make natives forget their own history and national identity. Soviet history, neglecting to mention that Stalin gained military control of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania through a nonaggression pact with Hitler in 1939, reads that the Baltic States willingly entered the communist union

during World War II. It is the Soviets' hope to make future generations unaware of and indifferent to the supression of their own people. The lowered population, as described above, was revived, but with an influx of Russians, not Balts. In Latvia, for example, the 1983 population was recorded as being only fifty-three percent native Latvians. All three states suffer from a censored press, overwhelming propaganda, and a suppressed church. Military duty is made a requirement for those considered valuable to the service. The Baltic people are treated as second class citizens in their own countries.

The unfair treatment of native Balts has had the effect of calling many of them to action. There are many who have patriotic feelings so strong that they stand up for their rights despite their fear of repercussions by the government. Some join underground organizations, such as Helsinki 86 in Latvia, to plan protests and keep up communications with the West. These so called dissidents often face dire consequences. Labor camps, prison sentences and beatings, and psychiatric hospitals are popular forms of "re-education." In 1972, Romas Kasanta, a nineteen year old Lithuanian student, set himself on fire in protest against the suppression of Lithuanian national and religious rights under the communist regime of the Soviet Union. He died in flames shouting freedom for enslaved Lithuania.

Gerald Ford's speech continued: "My heart cries out when I think of how, with one stroke of the pen, Russian laws became immediately effective in all of Lithuania, how the Soviets substituted their entire way of life for that of the Lithuanians and swept away all of their modes of living." Displaced Baltic people share Ford's passion for their captive nations. Many of us wonder why we have been denied a basic right to self-determination and the chance to enjoy our culture, language, and heritage freely. Today the Soviet Union is under a new policy of openness called Glasnost. More freedom has been promised, but how much will be given? Russification is continuing now just as it did in the 1930's. Even within the past year, officials have become stricter in preventing nationalist protests. Many attempts were made recently to hold peaceful demonstrations commemorating the anniversaries of Baltic independence days. The November 19, 1987 issue of the Los Angeles Times carried a report stating: "The heavy presence of uniformed militiamen, plainclothesmen and civilian vigilantes in Riga's streets, coupled with the shrill campaign by Soviet authorities warning against the protests, signaled a sharp official turn against open demonstrations and another sign of conservative backlash against Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev's policy of glasnost or "openness."

As Americans, we have the advantage of living in a free society. The

opportunity to educate ourselves about the rest of the world is relatively unrestricted, as is the chance to act according to our opinions, conscience, and beliefs. We can make a decision of whether or not to protest the Soviet imprisonment of the Baltic States and fight for the freedom we so strongly believe in. It is important for Americans to respond to the hope held by so many Baltic victims, as expressed in the Baltic Bulletin. "The tyranny of Soviet communism will not prevail, for the light that was emitted during the years of Latvian independence cannot be extinguished nor denied. It will continue to shine as a beacon for every Latvian who yearns to be free."

# ARE ALL REVOLUTIONS THE SAME?

by Carrie Nelson

The 18th Century revolution in France and the 20th Century revolution in Nicaragua have, like all revolutions, basic common threads. Although many of the first stages of these revolutions parallel each other, the Nicaraguan and French struggles differ sharply in characteristics of the old or established government and the one that comes to power through the revolution. The differences are results of each country's particular history. France was a politically independent nation that had existed centuries before its revolution. Nicaragua was a colony of Spain that did not gain some semblance of independence until 1821, one hundred and forty nine years before the revolution. Important differences also arise from a change in the way nations deal with each other. Involvement in the affairs of other nations is much more prevalent today than it was in 1778. This contrast is obvious when one compares the counter-revolutionary impact of the "emigres" and the European nobility to that of the U.S. backed Contras.

The root of all revolutions can be traced to preliminary signs seen under the "old regime." (Brinton 27) While the pre-revolutionary period in both countries being discussed is similar quantitatively, it differs qualitatively. In his book, The Anatomy of Revolution, Crane Brinton states that all old regimes are afflicted with serious structural weaknesses, and a radical change in the ideals of the intellectuals. (28, 39)

Economic instability is a governmental weakness displayed in the French "Ancien Regime." The dire financial straits of the monarchy, caused by an inefficient taxation system, an irreputable national deficit, and aid given to the American Revolution, led to the Estates General being called in 1789. Despite the poor harvests of 1788 and 1789 and bread shortages immediately prior to the Estates General being called, Brinton maintains that it was the financial status of the government, not society on the whole, that was of crucial importance as "a preliminary sign" of revolution. He states, "...our revolutions did not occur in societies with declining economies, or in socieities undergoing widespread and long-term economic misery or depression. (32)

This theory is valid as applied to the French Revolution, but does not hold true for the Nicaraguan Revolution. In Nicaragua, the government, or rather President Anastasio Somoza, was enormously wealthy while Nicaragua remained one of the world's poorest nations. Prior to the revolution, Nicaragua had 36% unemployment, 73% substandard housing, and 60% malnutrition. (Ruis 96) At this time, the Somoza family wealth was estimated

at $900 million. (96) It cannot be denied that industrialization and economic growth increased in the late 1960's and early 70's, but "the highly capital-intensive nature of the new plants created few new jobs to absorb the rapidly growing labor force." (Booth 78) Gains made during this industrial boom benefitted the upper-class investment groups Banco Nicaraguense (BANIC) and Banco de America (BANKAMERICA). (78) However, the "Somoza group" benefitted the most because of wise investments and liquid capital extracted from public funds. (78) As the French Revolution occurred before the Industrial Age, the Bourbon Monarchy did not have the same opportunities that Somoza used to become so wealthy.

Brinton also emphasizes complaints about taxation and "conspicuous governmental favoring of one set of economic interests over another" (Brinton 65) as an important precondition to revolution. In France, the dispute over taxation brought about the calling of the Estates General and the fact that the middle and lower classes were bearing the brunt of taxation certainly helped create a revolutionary spirit. The opposition of the bourgeosie to the French monarchy can be attributed to the fact that they felt "that prevaling conditions limit[ed] or hinder[ed] their economic activity." (33) One instance of this alienation was Turgot's attempted introduction of laissez-faire. His tariff reduction treaty with England in 1786 negatively affected French textile industries and offended the vested interests. (34)

This idea of economic favoritism by the government is also seen as a precondition to the Nicaraguan Revolution. In Nicaragua the vested interests certainly felt that their "economic activity" was being "hindered" but taxation was never an issue in the Nicaraguan Revolution. As stated before, the Somoza family and its collaborators gained tremendously from the industrial boom in the late 1960's and early '70's. However, as the Somoza group grew, it "surpassed the capacities of the BANIC AND BANKAMERICA groups and threatened their stability." (Booth 80) In other words, the rest of the upper class felt that they were not getting their fair share of the gains achieved through exploitation. One sign of this movement away from the Somoza regime was the formation in 1974 of the Democratic Liberation Union which included major businessmen, among them former Somoza collaborators. (83) This, in addition to further upper and middle-class opposition, was nearly as important to the Nicaraguan Revolution as the bourgeois opposition was to the French Revolution.

Besides structural weaknesses in the economy, the government of the old regime suffered from basic political weaknesses also. The flaw of the Bourbon monarchy was that it had no way to integrate the rising bourgeois into the governmental process without losing the support of the aristocracy. This

is best illustrated during the dispute over individual or block voting in the Estates General. By supporting the nobles' demand for block voting, Louis XVI lost whatever power he had with the Third Estate. In other words, the King backed a loser.

The Nicaraguan parallel to this is Somoza's alienation of the upper-class. If the entire BANIC and BANKAMERICA groups had stayed aligned with the dictator, then the FSLN (the military wing of the Sandinistas) might have been crushed as nothing more than a nationalist guerrilla movement. The "loser" that Somoza "backed" was his own financial interests. These interests included the protection of U.S. businesses in which he had financial involvement.

In addition to structural weaknesses, a change in ideals is also a necessary precondition to the fall of the old regime. Brinton states that this "transfer of allegiance" first occurs with the intellectuals. Writers, artists, musicians, actors, teachers and preachers come under Brinton's heading of "intellectuals." He maintains that these people transferred their allegiance "to another and better world than that of the corrupt and inefficient old regime." (Brinton 46) They also establish a "revolutionary myth - or folklore, or symbols, or ideology." (46) The intellectuals' expression of discontent about the present economic, political, or social conditions is of extreme importance to a revolutionary movement. In order for people to put their unrest into action, they must feel that the old regime is irreversibly wrong.

The educated of France entered the 1780's after having been exposed to the "revolutionary" ideas of the Enlightenment which made the ideals of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality seem perfectly reasonable. The formation of "societies de pensee"supports Brinton's theory that intellectuals form pressure groups to discuss and act on the new ideology. France's "societes de pensee" began as discussion groups on the Enlightenment but "gradually turned to political agitation and finally helped steer elections to the Estates General of 1789." (Brinton 40) The Freemasons were another group that took action to change the political process.

The Nicaraguan contemporaries to these two groups are notable. Christian Base Communities started meeting as discussion groups that applied Scripture to a person's everday reality. They became a driving force for unionization and land reform and are now considered subversive in other Central American countries. There are also similarities between the Freemasons and "Los Doce", a small group of twelve priests, intellectuals, and businessmen who demanded that Somoza resign. (Ruis 113)

In all revolutions a "revolutionary ideal" must be formed to reinforce people's hatred for the status quo and hope that a new society is possible. In France and Nicaragua this was done

by calling on history for support. In France, the noblemen were descendants of the invading Germans while the commoners were descendants of "peace-loving" Gauls and Romans. In Nicaragua the folk hero Augusto Sandino, who forced the United States Marines out of Nicaragua in 1933, has become so intertwined with the revolution, that the revolutionary government took his name and his face appears on all the coins and most commonly used paper currency.

The formation of opposition groups and the failure of goverment to suppress them irreversibly leads to the first stages of revolution. Brinton states that the period directly preceding the actual revolution "witnesses a crescendo of protests against the tyranny of the government" (Brinton 69) from various pressure groups. Also, the actual outbreak of the revolution is signified by some dramatic event that shows that the revolutionaries are too strong for the armed forces of the government. The applicable events in the French and Nicaraguan Revolutions are Bastille Day, July 14, 1789 and the mass insurrections of June-July, 1979.

Before both of these events, revolutionary zeal came to a fever pitch. France, especially Paris, had been inundated with pamphlets and revolutionary orators that stirred up the unrest necessary for the mob action that took place in July. In Nicaragua the popular insurrections in Matagalpa, Chinadega, Leon, Masaya, and Managua were set off by the capture of the National Palace by a Sandinista commando unit. (Ruis 115) In both cases, mass insurrection was essential to the success of the event. Said Humberto Ortega, the present defense minister of the Sandinistas, the FSLN had "thought of the masses...as a prop" for the military campaign but "Reality was quite different: guerrilla activity served as a prop for the masses, who crushed the enemy by means of insurrection." (Bradman 273)

In both events the use of force is of critical importance. Brinton states that "they [revolutionary struggles] became actual revolution instead of mere discussions, complaints, and rioting, only after revolutionists had beaten, or won over, the armed forces of the government." (Brinton 86) In France, Louis XVI failed to use force on the Paris mob effectively enough to disperse them, and in Nicaragua the National Guard was too divided and worn down to suppress the riots in the various cities. One interesting parallel between the two revolutions is the use of the cobblestones by the mobs. In Paris the crowd tore up the streets and used the "pavees" as weapons against the military. In Nicaragua, the cobblestones, constructed and installed incidentally by Somoza industries, were dug up and used to build barricades against the National Guard.

The similarities of the French and Nicaraguan Revolutions are notable but do not enthusiastically support

Brinton's theory that all revolutions follow a specific pattern. This theory does not hold true because every nation has its own particular character, but more importantly the world of international politics is not a static place. Isolationism has ceased to exist as the domestic affairs of one country often directly affect another. Differences in impetus, organization, and execution of the two revolutions are more frequent than similarities. However, they both do follow a basic pattern of weaknesses within the Old Regime, an alienation of its supporters, and mass uprising in an attempt to change conditions. But beyond these elementary similarities, the comparison ends. Of course, historians have the advantage of hindsight with which to analyze the French Revolution, while the Nicaraguan Revolution began relatively recently and is still in progress. Says Brinton, "in its earliest stages diagnosis of a revolution is extremely difficult." (Brinton 20)

Brinton's theory is further weakened by the signing of the cease-fire between the Sandanistas and the Contras in Nicaragua. According to Brinton's model of revolution, the newly established government becomes more radical as it reacts to the counter-revolution. The actions of the Nicaraguan government prove that this is not the necessary chain of events.

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## THE PROGRESSIVE ERA AND THE REFORM TRADITION, BY DEWEY GRANTHAM

by Bob Arkenberg

**PROBLEM:** What was Progressivism and how did it affect the nation?

**THESIS:** The Progressive movement was comprised of a variety of reform-minded doctrines, which represented, as a whole, an attack on the strict organization imposed on society by industrialization. Progressivism was the first reform movement of modern America which attempted to meet the "new economic and social realities" of the rapidly industrializing nation, and, thereby, set a precedent for reform movements of the future.

**DEVELOPMENT:** The American Progressive movement was a "social quest" which attempted to find solutions to the domestic and foreign problems caused by the tremendous industrial, urban, and demographic changes of the late nineteenth century. Progressivism was not manifest in a single movement, party, geographical section, or social class. In short, Progressivism was "a broadly based movement based upon a variety of interests." It included a democratic spirit, a strain of morality, a concern for social justice, a faith in progress, a middle class and urban outlook, a belief in entrepreneurialism, a quest for efficiency in government and education, and "a susceptibility to the revelations of journalistic 'truths.'"

The Progressives looked increasingly towards politics as a means to their reformist ends. Reforms were first attempted on the municipal level, for the Progressives sought to purge their city governments of the influences of corruption, political "machines", and privilege. They soon realized, however, that in order to enact their many reforms in the cities, they would have to enact them on state and national levels as well, for urban corruption was only one facet of the corruption which inflicted the nation. Thus, it was not uncommon for local reform movements to explode into national movement. Among some of the Progressive legislative works were bills which sought shorter working hours and higher wages for laborers, workmen's compensation laws, government regulation of big business, public welfare programs, graduated income taxes, and laws which would make government more responsible and democratic. Legislation soon became so important to the Progressives that it emerged as a goal in itself, and many Americans began to believe that reform legislation could put an end to almost any "social evil."

Grantham points out that there was a strong link between the Progressive movement and the Populist reform movement of the 1880's and 1890's. The Progressive emphasis on the pure state, based upon popular government and an anti-monopoly bias, and their resort to

legislation as a solution to economic and social problems were "reminiscent of Populism." Both the Progressive and the Populist were bent on preserving traditional values, many of which were agrarian in nature, and "the long arm of Jeffersonian democracy stretched across the generations" to make them yearn for an older, undifferentiated society. The Progressives were, however, friendlier toward the city than the Populists were, and, therefore, felt stronger ties between themselves and the industrial workers and immigrants. The Populists were, on the other hand, more concerned about the plight of the farmer than the plight of the factory worker. In short, Progressives and Populists were alike in their beliefs, yet very different in the types of people they focused them upon.

The death of the Progressive movement is usually tied to the outbreak of World War I. Although there is much truth to this interpretation, Grantham claims that it is not the whole truth. For instance, Grantham points out that Progressivism had achieved most of its goals prior to 1914, and the values that once characterized the movement began to constitute "a kind of orthodoxy." Nevertheless, Grantham agrees that the war put a final end to the movement, and in a sense, pardon the cliche, pounded the last nails into its coffin. Although the switch from domestic to international problems broadened the reform-minded scopes of many Progressives (the "American Mission"), the issues concerning neutrality, preparedness, and declaration of war divided Progressives, while the war itself hampered the anticorporation movement and other Progressive concerns. In addition, the World War made the Progressives doubtful about many of their beliefs: chiefly, the rational potential of man, the belief in the inevitability of progress, and faith in the cooperative and loving capacity of the world. The war disillusioned many Progressives, and thereby destroyed the coherence which characterized the strength of the movement.

The Progressive movement found its reincarnation in the reform movements of the future. The Great Depression and the New Deal retained many Progressive beliefs, although the New Deal was a compulsory program for the entire nation, and Progressivism was not. The greatest attribute of the Progressive movement was its ability to present a broad spectrum of social ideals that transcended individual interests. And even though some of its legislation was not made into law, Progressivism became, "whether consciously or unconsciously", an attack on the strict organization imposed by industrial society. Its ideals opposed traditional authority and formalism, and made a concerted effort to destroy the idea of a "static and deterministic cosmology that gave man himself almost no part in the progress of the universe." The Progressives, therefore, undermined the frameworks under which laissez faire, Social Darwinism, and extreme

individualism (ideas which anti-Progressives used to justify the economic and social problems of the nation) were built. Indeed, the Progressive movement set a precedent for future reform movements, for it made Americans increasingly aware of the power of legislation in changing national problems in accordance with "new economic and social realities."

EVALUATION: Grantham presents a very comprehensive, interesting, and well written account of Progressivism. I wonder, however, if Grantham, like other historians, has neglected the Progressive aspirations of the working classes in favor of the middle-class view of Progressivism, as Bunker has criticized in "The Dimensions of Urban Liberalism."

Source

Grantham, Dewey, "The Progressive Era and the Reform Tradition", pp.195-120, The American Scene vol. 2, eds. Robert D. Marcus & David Burner, New York: Appleton-Century-Croft, 1971.

Some Quotes on History...

Not to know what happened before one's birth is to always remain a child.
-- Cicero

Tick is a humble genesis, Tock a feeble apocalypse.
--Frank Kermode

If men could learn from history, what lessons it might teach us! But passion and party blind our eyes, and the light which experience gives us is a lantern on the stern, shines only on the waves behind us.
--Coleridge

It takes a great deal of history to produce a little literature.
--Henry James

History is a distillation of rumor. -- Thomas Carlyle

History is past politics, and politics present history.
--Sir James Robert Seeley

History is Philosophy teaching by examples.
--Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke
(repeating Dionysius of Halicarnassus)

What is all knowledge too but recorded experience, and a product of history; of which, therefore, reasoning and belief, no less than action and passion, are essential materials?
--Thomas Carlyle

What experience and history teach us is this -- that people and governments never have learned anything from history, or acted on principles deduced from it.
--G. W. Hegel

War makes rattling good history...Peace is poor reading. -- Thomas Hardy

# ABOLITIONIST TACTICAL THINKING AS SEEN THROUGH MEANS AND ENDS IN AMERICAN ABOLITIONISM

by Genny Ostertag

Professor Aileen S. Kraditor wrote Means and Ends in American Abolitionism: Garrison and His Critics on Strategy and Tactics, 1834-1850 partly in response to the historical trend which portrays William Lloyd Garrison and his followers as a humorless band of fanatics. In this respect, she is successful, for her depiction is that of sincere, determined men and women united by a lofty goal. Garrison is the intensely dedicated and earnest agitator whose propaganda attempts to bring to the public the same morals and principles to which he consistently adheres. This book is a carefully researched volume of significant detail, but an objective work it is not. One cannot help but be disturbed by the obvious bias toward Garrison and the radical abolitionists in general. It is reassuring that Kraditor writes: "...although the picture of Garrison that emerges in the following pages is far more favorable than is common...I did not set out to paint it that way." (xi) Nevertheless, the lack of impartiality and objectivity permeates this book. The constant interjections of phrases like "I mean," and "I would suggest," and "I believe," and "I should make clear" are inappropriate in a history book such as this. History, by its very nature, is interpretation -- one author's opinions and beliefs, hopefully backed up by fact and research. Historical writing is far more convincing when presented as truth and, unfortunately, Kraditor's writing style subtracts from the credibility of the work as a whole.

Nevertheless, Kraditor has examined a great number of sources and given the material a new relevance as to how it fits in with abolitionist tactical thinking. She focuses on what she calls means to ends, or strategy and tactics to goals. Indeed, as the title would suggest, that is what ties this book together: how to awaken public sentiment and stimulate others to take action to both emancipate the slaves and grant them equality under the law. In order to discuss the philosophic assumptions behind abolitionist strategies and tactics, the author must first establish a context for such thinking.

The book concentrates on the period between 1834 and 1850, because Kraditor feels "most of the major tactical problems that arose in the entire history of the abolitionist movement were thrashed out within those seventeen years." (vii-viii) Those problems, namely the role of women and political and religious issues, provide a framework for the discussion, and she devotes ample time to how each tactical issue related to the movement.

First of all, however, Kraditor provides definitions for specific terms which are fundamental to the understanding of her subject. Abolitionist refers to any member of an antislavery society, such as the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS) founded in December of 1833, who "believed that slavery was a sin, that slaves should be freed immediately, unconditionally, and without

expatriation or compensation to the owners, and who subscribed at least in theory to the doctrine of race equality." (8) Within the abolitionist movement there eventually developed two factions, the Garrisonians, who agreed with Garrison that an antislavery society should be "broad" by allowing for and tolerating varied religious, social, and political views, and the anti-Garrisonians, who believed an organization should be "narrow" and include only those whose views on issues other than slavery were conventional. Kraditor designates as radicals those who believed that society itself was corrupt, with slavery being the worst of the sins that needed to be cleansed away by reorientating institutional structures and ideologies. Conservatives were essentially reformers who saw society as good, excepting slavery, which needed to be eliminated in order to strengthen and maintain the American social order. Kraditor contends that the split in abolitionist organization in 1840 occurred because of disagreements over social philosophy between the radical and reformist elements.

Early on Kraditor establishes that the entire movement should not be identified by its radical components. She does this by criticizing one such interpretation by Stanley Elkins, which asserts that all abolitionists were anti-institutionalists. Here, as later with the thesis of Gilbert Barnes, Kraditor is especially convincing as she points to holes in the structure of the argument. In fact, she shows that the majority of abolitionists worked through institutions such as political parties, legislature, and churches to destroy slavery, for it is easier to use pre-existing structures than create new ones. Kraditor spends a lot of time exploring Elkins and corollaries to his thesis, in addition to bringing up transcendentalism and Jacksonian democracy as other reform movements. Throughout the text she emphasizes the similarities between abolitionism and other reform movements for change. By constructing parallels she hopes to help modern movements learn from the past. But in this particular instance, the argument becomes muddled as she compares each one's perspective on minority and majority.

The next topic Kraditor deals with is that of immediatism using the slogan of immediate and unconditional emancipation as a tactic to persuade the people to make it a possibility. She states that the abolitionists knew that the emancipation of the slave required a lot of time and publicity, for the realization of their goal "must follow conversion of an enormous number of people, and the struggle must take place in the face of the hostility that inevitably met the agitator for an unpopular cause." (26) This is supported by earlier assertions of the violence, harassment, and repression which faced the movement, especially the Lovejoy incident, the congressional "gag rule," and the burning of abolitionist mail. Kraditor maintains that such measures resulted in the

North's association with protecting the freedom of speech and right of petition, which abolitionist agitators were able to use to advance their cause. Garrison, in particular, was adamant on the subject of freedom of speech and discussion. He felt it was essential to the continuation of a commitment to humanity, and that is why he firmly supported women as they spoke out against injustice. It is important to understand that Garrison saw the abolitionists as agitators and not politicians: that their goal was fairly impractical, and unrealizable and at the time was irrelevant. Abolitionists had to rally for immediatism, even if it was unrealistic, in order to stress the Negro's equality and dispel racist sentiment.

Next, Kraditor discusses abolitionism in the wake of the movement for women's rights and suffrage. It is not surprising that she dedicates an entire chapter to the involvement of women, for her previous books, The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920 and Up from the Pedestal: Selected Writings in the History of American Feminism, show her partiality to the subject. Her main point is that the woman question, which raised the same issues of status and equality that abolitionism raised, and "thus forced some abolitionists to qualify their construction of the Declaration and the Bible, provides an excellent angle from which to study basic abolitionist principles and the ways in which those principles affected tactics." (41)

The role of women as abolitionist lecturers versus their traditional role became the subject of debate in society, but the issue within the AASS was over constitutional interpretation. Garrisonians and the majority of abolitionists felt that women were eligible to participate and vote as members of the AASS. Conservatives, however, thought that admitting women was against the intent of the AASS constitution, against acceptable policy and the traditional roles of women, and would bring unnecessary controversy to the cause of emancipation. The Garrisonians asserted that even though they may lose supporters who did not believe in the equality of the sexes, they would further their long range humanitarian goal. Garrison firmly believed that all good causes helped each other, and he was never afraid of taking an unpopular stance.

What the conservatives were really objecting to was not women's rights, but the incorporation of unpopular, extraneous issues, such as women's rights, nonvoting, nonresistance, anticlericalism, antisabbatarianism, and perfectionism into an antislavery society at all. To them, it was wholly unfortunate that the public identified the personal beliefs Garrison espoused in The Liberator with the abolitionist movement itself. Both the conservatives and the radicals insisted that the other was too sectarian and exclusive. "The test-of-membership issue was only a surface indication that two profoundly divergent conceptions of abolitionism itself had

developed and with them two mutually exclusive attitudes toward organization, strategy, and tactics." (55) After several confrontations in the late 1830's and subsequent organizational splits, the conservative wing broke away in order to definitively prove that abolitionism was compatible with most other traditions and institutions. These conservatives founded the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (A & F), which excluded women but allowed for male representation if women wanted to form their own societies. Kraditor mentions that the A & F failed to win popular support, and she postulates that the organization "did not challenge accustomed modes of thought and living." She goes on to say that since "abolitionism did not require a drastic change in values and behavior, the conservative leaders may also have inadvertentally demonstrated that their brand of abolitionism was not vitally necessary to the Christian life." (107)

Kraditor shifts gears to discuss the role of religion in abolitionist thought. "The controversy over the woman question exposed the incipient differences [between reformers and radicals] and caused them to become more explicit and more fully thought out, till the woman question was pushed into the background and the factional fight centered on the religious issue itself." (79) The abolitionist had always accepted that slavery was a terrible sin against God, that everyone was individually responsible for repentance, and that abolitionist agitation was supposed to convert individuals much in the same way as the church.

The author now stresses the importance of The Liberator, not only as a chronicle of Garrison's beliefs, but as "a fascinating archive of sources on the religious and social speculations of the antebellum generations." (88) As she focuses in on Garrison, her emphasis is on how he worked to fit his many ideas into a single religious philosophy. "Its core," she writes,

> was an insistence that every human being was equally, strictly, individually responsible to God to do his will as revealed in the New Testament. It repudiated governments based on force because force was incompatible with this equality, violated what Garrison interpreted as Christ's prohibition of coercion of any sort, and substituted human for divine authority. He stressed the gospel injunction to be perfectly free from sin as an ideal toward which every individual must strive, each accountable to God for his own sins. (59)

The main question which arose was in regard to what relationship there was between Garrison's religious radicalism and the abolitionist organization.

Although Garrison felt strongly on issues like nonresistance and saw them to be parts of a single, divine truth, he always maintained that the AASS should remain neutral and separate from his causes. The society should allow for freedom of dissension or advocacy, and "Garrison saw his task within the organization as parallel to the task of the abolitionists in American society -- to liberate thought, to create an atmosphere in which all issues could be discussed freely." (62) Many people still had trouble distinguishing between Garrison the abolitionist and Garrison the man, despite his efforts, for the public's sake, to divorce his personal interests from abolitionism. Garrison became suspicious that there was some sort of clerical plot to discredit him and his newspaper, and Kraditor shows that this idea did have some substance as conservative abolitionists increasingly wanted to silence the heretical element.

Kraditor turns to the political dilemmas of the time, beginning by stating that it was not until the late 1830's, when the AASS finally had a substantial number of members and supporters, that abolitionists were forced to consider the political implications of their movement. The conservatives were convinced that it was their duty to use their political influence for the cause, and for this reason, many advocated the formation of a third party. Garrisonians "valued politics chiefly as a means of agitating the subject of slavery." (121) and felt that it would be appropriate to exert their <u>moral</u> influence by petitioning or testifying before legislatures, voting only for antislavery candidates, questioning candidates on their view of slavery and publishing the answers, or scattering (voting for a write-in candidate as a means of protest). Further, the Garrisonians objected to the third party idea because it would make abolition, a moral issue, into a political one. They preferred to act on English precedent to try to become the balance of power between the two existing parties so that party leaders would have to come to them to make concessions.

Garrison was criticized by supporters of organized political action for encouraging voting and other measures when his own nonresistant and religious principles prevented him from doing so himself. Garrison was defensive and felt that "the hue and cry about the duty to vote was evidently motivated by hatred of nonresistance rather than by concern for the slave." (129) After the division of the AASS, Garrison was willing to agree to practical alliances, provided that they did not entail any sacrifice of principle.

Kraditor plunges further into the question of alliances and traces the efforts to concentrate political power. The conservatives decided to commit themselves to the political scene by forming the Liberty party in 1840. This third party tried to get across the message that slavery was the only

relevant political issue, but this proved impossible as personal, conflicting interests inevitably found their way into party policy. Kraditor illustrates this quite well by providing a list of proposals, out of which the Liberty League, a universal reform party, was eventually born.

Garrison agreed with the reformists that the Whig and Democratic parties were corrupted instruments of the slave power, and saw how a temporary abolitionist party could defeat slavery, whereupon the third party would cease to be necessary. But Garrison opposed the new parties because they were tactically inexpedient. Both the Liberty Party and the Liberty League not only had a platform which alientated too many voters, but the parties served as an outlet for the selfish, ambitious, and manipulative; the fact that a Whig would join to defeat a Democrat proves that the parties failed to be useful to further the ideals of emancipation and equality.

Kraditor puts the problem of reconciling principle and expediency into the context of two major areas, the first of which is the rise of the Free Soil movement. The appropriate reaction to the development of the Free Soil party was a key tactical issue, especially since the new party gained many racist supporters. The Free Soil platform substituted antiextensionism for abolition and avoided the question of Negro rights, yet Garrison and most of the radicals supported it because it represented a more advanced position than that previously taken. The radicals viewed the coalition as proof of awakening antislavery feeling, but they understood that the Free Soilers needed to take the hopeful movement further to a more revolutionary position. The Libertymen divided on the issue, for many of them feared and resented the platform's numerous planks which were supposed to attract Northern whites. The Liberty Leaguers were generally disappointed with the new party when it failed to acknowledge slavery's fundamental relationship to American society. What was different about the Free Soil movement is that it allowed politically oriented abolitionists to work within the mainstream for the first time.

The other significant tactical issue was what position to take on the U.S. Constitution — whether it should be interpreted as an antislavery or proslavery document. Specifically, the debate was over the connection between antislavery political action and the Constitution, and how it could be used as a tactical weapon. Kraditor presents two convincing analyses of the philosophies and rationales which would render the Constitution either antislavery (as seen through the views of Lysander Spooner) or proslavery (as seen through the eyes of Garrison and Dr. William Ingersoll Bowditch). The abolitionists believed that even though the Constitution legitimized slavery in the states, it was an antislavery document in spirit. The Liberty Leaguers and most Libertymen who did

not join the Free Soilers interpreted the Constitution as a thoroughly antislavery document which gave Congress the right to abolish slavery. It was the Garrisonians that Kraditor sees as the most realistic, for in their the Constitution was a proslavery document.

Garrison's theory was the far more radical. He felt the Constitution sanctioned and protected slavery in the Southern states, so the North, which the South was wholly dependent upon, had a moral obligation to dissolve the Union in order to end slavery. It must be understood that Garrison's claim that "the compact which exists between the North and the South is a 'covenant with death, and an agreement with hell,' -- involving both parties in atrocious criminality, -- and should be immediately annulled" (200) was only an agitational device. Like the call for immediate emancipation, Garrison knew the people were not ready for disunionism, but he followed "the tactic of always stating the principle toward which public opinion must be educated, no matter how far ahead of present public opinion it might be." (30)

Two minor areas which illustrated the notion that principles should never be compromised, but policy should be expedient whenever possible were the free-produce question and the purchase of Frederick Douglass. The free-produce issue dealt with what potential impact the abolitionists could have on the consciences of Southern slaveholders. Garrison decided that the necessity of certain commodities and products outweighed any moral or religious duty to boycott slave-grown produce. He did not feel that such a boycott would substantially weaken the slave power, especially since many of the abolitionist's financial backers were too involved in Southern commerce to withdraw. In other words, he agreed with the boycott principle, but his views were flexible enough that he realized it would not be expedient. The concern over Frederick Douglass was whether or not buying his freedom would constitute compensating the slaveholder for his loss of property. In this case, Garrison argued that compensation was not the issue, and purchasing Douglass's freedom was a sound, expedient policy decision that served to promote the humanitarian cause.

A major problem of abolitionism, not only in the public realm, but within the organization itself, was bridging the gap between principle and expediency, theory and practice, conviction and commitment. One of the more effective means of doing this is what Kraditor terms the "empathy" theme: putting oneself in the place of the oppressed slave. She states that abolitionists wanted the Northerner to be seen not only as guilty of the perpetuation of slavery in the Union, but as victimized by the institution as well. It was the empathy theme which allowed people to unite interests and principles, for when a person felt bound with the suffering slave he would

rebel against the slave power both to defend himself and to relieve his guilt. This tactic was extremely important, for the abolitionists needed to build a constituency. "Without public opinin on its side, the movement could accomplish nothing; with public opinion, it could transform all organizations dependent on public opinion into tactical weapons for the cause." (165)

The abolitionists were unsuccessful in their efforts to elicit support and ally with the labor movement. Kraditor accounts for this incompatibility because the abolitionists had no coherent or fundamental understanding of the class nature or ideologies of the slave system. Furthermore, the abolitionists were offering each individual an adherence to principles based on moral and religious grounds, when the laborer was looking for measures which would elevate the working class to better economic and social conditions.

Abolitionists utilized many different tactics to try to convert both the Northern and Southern multitudes, based on the premise that "the conscience of even the most unregenerate slaveholder could be awakened by the redeeming truth if only the channels of communication were kept open and flooded by unremitting propaganda that permitted the guilty soul no hiding place." (255) In addition to appealing to interest, a moral embargo was another way to reach the slaveholder. "It was hoped that slaveowners, deprived of the friendship, fellowship, and patronage that lulled their consciences, would be forced to see themselves as the civilized world saw them, and examine the morality of their way of life. At that point they would become receptive to appeals to their sense of justice and their fear of God. Interest would yield to principle." (258)

Upon closing, Kraditor mentions:

> It is interesting to speculate what the result would have been if a large part of the abolitionist movement had not weakened the moral focus of its propaganda and accepted the compromises dictated by political expediency...[by the] favor[ing] of a type of political action that gave increasing emphasis to pragmatic alliances with politicians who would not denounce slavery in the abstract. One wonders whether a perseverance in the tactic of agitation and conversion would not have helped to weaken the slaveholders' will to fight. (260)

This statement seems to express disapproval of the conservative, anti-Garrisonians who left the AASS to do what they thought was right, and it is extremely regrettable that this is

how she chooses to end her final chapter.

This book leaves most issues satisfactorily concluded, but there is not a sufficient closing argument which reiterates the thesis. In her afterword, Kraditor comments, not for the first time, on Garrison's policy of always allowing the minority to remain in harmony with the majority in order to ensure the "democratic process." Again, Garrison's role is glorified -- his conscience would not let him ignore "bleeding humanity," and he had to choose "not between democratic and undemocratic, or fanatical and reasonable, agitation; it was between antislavery agitation and silence." (276) It is interesting that Kraditor writes: "I have paid little attention to personalities and none at all to the way in which individual abolitionists' thinking evolved." (279) It appears that she does deal with personalities, or rather, personality, in that of William Lloyd Garrison, who comes alive in these pages. Yet it is Kraditor's Garrison the reader meets, and one wonders if her picture is synonymous with the true Garrison.

Kraditor does a wonderful job of briefly explaining the minor roles which certain events and people played in the history of the abolitionist movement. She does this mainly through numerous, detailed footnotes which are fairly accessible at the end of each chapter. The rest of the book's organizational structure is admirable: the preface provides insight as to her goals and aims for the book, the table of contents displays an excellent breakdown of the material in each chapter, and the index, with its numerous cross-references, is detailed and easy to use. The only drawback is the lack of a bibliography.

One of the principal flaws of this work is the overwhelming amount of repetition, not only from chapter to chapter, but within chapters as well. What is needed is a clearer relation between the topics and the thesis -- relating previous material together instead of merely restating it. The lack of any sort of chronological order is confusing and makes it much more difficult to put the information into a historical perspective.

Kraditor never analyzes the economic or geographical origins of the separate antislavery groups. Did the abolitionists represent a cross-section of Northern society? Statistical information like this might help to shed some light on why the two rival factions were fundamentally different. There is very little sense of which tactics were the most successful in arousing antislavery feeling, what impact abolitionist policies had on society, or society's view of the abolitionist movement and how that might have revised certain tactics. It would also have been relevant to mention what role the abolitionists had in the actual emancipation of the slaves. Although the rise of Lincoln and the actual emancipation fall after

this study's cutoff date, it would have helped to know whether abolitionist agitation actually had a substantial effect on freeing the slaves, or whether that event was due to other circumstances. It would have made a much better ending to hail the success of the abolitionist mission and the destruction of the institution which fostered "brutality, indolence, and arrogance in the masters and demoralization of the slave" and required Negroes "to be illiterate and ignorant, diminish[ing] their chances of hearing the word of God and achieving salvation." (253)

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## THE CHILD

By Melissa Farruggia

He sits
in the corner
of the classroom,
He will not
speak
but instead
the bruises speak
for him.
They tell stories
of
a room not clean
and the milk
spilled on
the floor.
They show
a mother
who does not work --
A mother
who slaps
the little boy
who tries to hug her
and
A mother
who loves heroin
more than she
loves him.
The teacher
who drives a Volvo
and lives in a loft in Old Town
calls abuse centers
but for now
the bruises are silent.

# IMAGES AND REALISM IN THE GREAT GATSBY

by Barna William Donovan

F. Scott Fitzgerald's The Great Gatsby is a novel that captures the attitude of the nation after World War I, revealing the motivation behind the sudden glamour and excitement. The Great War took the world into chaos and destruction that seemed to take away people's will to live. The peace that followed gave the nation a chance to live and enjoy life. Pleasure and enjoyment were what the World War I generation was looking for, but these people were created without a future and they could not live for any substantial goals. These people felt their lives didn't make much difference in any greater worldly purpose, and that their achievements didn't matter to them or anyone else. The story opens as Nick Caraway moves to the trendy east coast for business and tells the story of Jay Gatsby and the Buchanans. Their lives are an example of those who are trying to live in glamour and happiness, but their age has deprived them of the right to a meaningful existence. They linger in a life of ease and privilege, but their aimlessness stops them from caring about anything worthwhile, or from considering the consequences of their actions.

Upon his arrival in New York, Nick Caraway is led into the lives of people who exist in a world where outside forces exert little control. They are men and women who stop living when they reach a certain point of material abundance. They don't know how to enjoy what they have and they seem to be suspended in a state of being without any fulfillment or joy. The most exact conclusion Nick can reach is that this jet-set crowd has a certain one-dimensional existence with nothing behind their image: a window dressing of sorts prepared with the finest details of money, glamour, and status, but nothing tangible beyond this idea.

Nick comes to understand through the family of his cousin, Daisy Buchanan, why his generation aspires to nothing more satisfying or meaningful than a well-polished image. This generation was predestined to live without a future and there was no point in their trying to create one. Those who had not died on the battlefields of the Great War had seen the ravaging of the civilized world, and that drastically altered their outlook on life. They were all war veterans who wanted nothing more than to be left alone. This is more vividly illustrated by Daisy and her husband Tom. Daisy lives her life by honestly believing that a woman should be dumb. Good looks are necessary for certain pleasures, but she doesn't care about anything besides these pleasures. She thinks that good looks are all a woman needs, and she herself is satisfied with a limited intellectual development. Tom Buchanan, meanwhile, views married life as nothing more than a partnership so that he and his wife have stability. However, he often had affairs with other women and feels no real love for Daisy. He lives with her so he can have a sense of family and a person he can always come back to.

A mythical, debonair Jay Gatsby soon enters the lives of the Buchanans, secretly returning to Daisy. Gatsby is the artistic contrast in the novel. He differs sharply from the others in personality and beliefs. He is a man driven by a definite goal until the end of the book. He lives for fortune and romance, and does it with the passion of someone who experienced little of either one in his lifetime. He is in control and careful about living the right life until his tie to the Buchanans begins to destroy him.

Gatsby comes to the high rolling east coast to get Daisy Buchanan, the girl he fell in love with when they were young and she was rich while he was poor. The novel slowly reveals that the force that brought Jay Gatsby to the top was his determination to get Daisy back. Because they were of different worlds, he could not have her before the war, so he changed himself to fit into her society.

Jay Gatsby climbed to the top, made money, and created a life similar to that of the idle rich of his age. He was a driven man with a goal that enabled him to create this life that seemed to be functioning according to a set of rules and plans. He had an ideal image of a man and he modeled himself after that image, trying even to change his past to fit the plans. He, however, soon put himself in the position to go against the social estabishment of his time. He was different from those he wanted to live with and couldn't survive the world that was so different from him. When he reached his goal after a lifetime's work and ambition, his only problem was the fact that he still loved Daisy. He had to love Daisy; otherwise, he couldn't be where he was. Although they were both rich, their lives and worlds were still different. While Gatsby was driven to succeed and change, Daisy was still a frivolous, carefree woman who had no desire to changer her behavior. Gatsby could never completely have Daisy, because she didn't want him. She was incapable of loving anyone with the devotion Gatsby gave her. She didn't care about a commitment to him when he was poor, or when he was rich.

The climax of Gatsby's career comes tragically, because he is ultimately killed by an overwhelmingly alien world. He is a victim of a private revenge, but his downfall comes when he begins to lose his sense of reality. He lives for the past and puts all his energy into getting even for the problems and injustices of his past. He loses his perspective on the real world when he can't distinguish between the truth and hopeless dreams. It begins when he can't realize where his relationship with Daisy is leading and can't find any other purpose for which to live. Daisy is in his past, and he couldn't go back to change all of that past, no matter how many times he tried.

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52

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# LEONARDO DA VINCI (1452-1519)

by Sarah Hoisington

The Renaissance, which began in northern Italy and later spread to northern Europe, occurred during the years 1350-1600. A "Renaissance man" was a combination of a courtier, philosopher, despot, and artist. He was interested in the world in which he lived, was personally ambitious, desired perfection in his achievements, and, most importantly, wanted to express himself in everything he did. Leonardo da Vinci was definitely a "Renaissance man." This can be shown through his many talents and abilities, especially with his portrait of "Mona Lisa" and his religious scenes,"The Last Supper", and "The Baptism of Christ." These paintings rank among the most famous ever painted.

Although Leonardo da Vinci was trained to be a painter, he became one of the most versatile geniuses in history. His interests and accomplishments spread over a variety of fields, many having to do with the sciences. Leonardo studied anatomy, astronomy, botany, and geology, and he drew plans for hundreds of inventions and designed machines.

During the late 1460's Leonardo became an apprentice to Andrea del Verrocchio, a leading painter and sculptor in Florence. Verrocchio and Leonardo worked together on the painting, "The Baptism of Christ." The figures are shown in the act of moving from one position to another. Verrocchio's figures and objects are sharply defined. They reflect the style called Early Renaissance. Leonardo used a more graceful approach that marked the beginning of the High Renaissance style. Leonardo's style gives one an overall feeling of calmness despite dramatic contrasts of dark and light. Leonardo organized his paintings in a pyramid form.

Leonardo painted the "Last Supper" about 1495. He created the famous scene on a wall of the dining hall in the monastery of Santa Maria delle Grazie. The "Last Supper" was the final meal that Jesus shared with His twelve disciples. The painting shows Jesus, seated in the center, just after He has announced that one of them will betray Him. The picture began to peel soon after Leonardo completed it and is in poor condition today.

The "Mona Lisa" became famous because of her mysterious smile. Leonardo showed the woman's face moving into or out of a smile. He arranged her folded hands so that the figure formed a pyramid. Leonardo's technique with the "Mona Lisa" solved a problem that had faced earlier portrait painters. These artists had shown only the head and upper part of the body, and the picture seemed to cut off the subject at the chest. The placement of the hands of the "Mona Lisa" gives the woman a more complete, natural appearance. The relaxation of the pose expresses superb confidence and tranquility. The "Mona Lisa" was the last of Leonardo's portraits. The panoramic background is fully developed and very personal.

In some ways Leonardo was the supreme product of the culture of 15th century Florence. In addition to painting he was an impresario and designer of pageants which became one of Leonardo's greatest assets as a courtier. Leonardo began to produce scientific drawings, especially of the human body. He dissected human corpses and the bodies of dead animals to study their anatomy. Leonardo's drawings show the appearance of bones, tendons, and other parts of the body, and also their function. The drawings are considered the first accurate portrayals of human anatomy.

Leonardo recorded his ideas about art, engineering, and science in several notebooks. Many of his notebook pages include impressive drawings that show Leonardo's powers of observation and skill as a draftsman. His notes can only be read with a mirror because he wrote them backwards.

Leonardo da Vinci was truly a remarkable man. He clearly fit the Renaissance because he had many interests and abilities and he excelled in all of them. He did the best he could to make use of all of his talents. Leonardo's attitude was typical of the Renaissance: he studied the human body carefully, but he was more interested in its beauty than its actual workings.

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# VICTORS' JUSTICE? -- THE TOKYO WAR CRIMES TRIAL

by Sarah Smith

## INTRODUCTION

In the last analysis, this trial was a political trial. It was only victor's justice.

--Tojo Hideki, December 1948
(Richard H. Minear 3)

I think we can say that to some extent the Tojo trial itself provided a wholesome example of a concept of Anglo-Saxon justice.

--Joseph B. Keenan, 1949

These quotations exemplify the opposing points of view concerning the Tokyo War Crimes Trials. Were the trials in fact as Keenan stated an example of "true justice" or were they inspired by the victors' desire for revenge under the facade of justice? The manner in which the trials were conducted is disputable because there were so many problems involved with their staging, including the interpretation of international law, the selection of justices, the rules by which the justices operated, the selection of the accused, and the rules of evidence. Furthermore, there was little precedent to follow concerning some of the crimes of which the defendants were accused.

In order to decide if the trials were just, one must go beyond examining only the trials themselves. One must be aware of the events leading up to the trials. An understanding of racial conflicts and prejudices between the Japanese and the Allies during World War II is important because these same factors were present during the trials. Similarly, knowledge of the atrocities committed by the Japanese during the war is needed, as the heinous nature of these deeds helped shape the vindictive attitude of the prosecution. Obviously, an examination of the trials themselves is also necessary. An impression of the various reactions to the trials is also helpful because it enhances one's overall historical perspective. By examining these factors, one can decide if the trials were in fact as Tojo said, "only victors' justice."

## RACIAL CONFLICTS AND PREJUDICES IN WORLD WAR II

World War II was a war fought not only on a tactical level but also on a racial one. This "race war" was fought on both sides, and racial identity was the main driving force behind super-nationalism.

Since the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Japan had feared and hated the West. The unequal treaties forced on Japan by European nations, the discriminatory immigration policies of the United States and others, and the refusal by the League of Nations to grant Japans' request for "racial equality" all served to make the country aware of its own special identity. This feeling of discrimination contributed to a pre-existing attitude of ethnocentrism in Japan.

As Japan progressed into a stable and strong country, it not only challenged the West militarily, but also the entire mystique of white supremacy. Along with Pan-Asiatic slogans, the Japanese created the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere to spread pro-Asiatic propaganda. During the war the Japanese routinely referred to themselves as the leading race of the world.

The ethnocentrism of the Japanese derived from their heritage. The Japanese portrayed themselves as being historically purer than other peoples genetically and morally — an assertion buttressed with theories about the divine origins of the Yamato race. The Japanese were a homogenous race who traced their origin back to the gods. As a result, they felt that they were more virtuous than other people. The Japanese thought of Westerners as being naturally inferior, and they were often described derogatorily, as decadent, feminine, demonic, deranged, egotistical, unclean, and materialistic.

Like the Japanese, the Allies had prejudices too. Throughout history they thought of themselves as superior to the "backward" Japanese. It came as a shock to the West when Japan challenged this tradition of supremacy. Anti-Japanese sentiment was common in the Western countries. The Westerners branded the Japanese with many names; among these were apes, dogs, insects, subhumans, beasts, vermin, and barbarians.

The knowledge of these racial prejudices is vital in order to comprehend the brutal atrocities committed in World War II. In addition, the atrocities themselves must also be examined, as their ruthless nature played a great part in shaping pre-trial sentiment toward the Japanese.

## JAPANESE ATROCITIES COMMITTED IN WORLD WAR II

> World War II meant many things to many people. To over fifty million men, women, and children, it meant death. To hundreds of millions more in the occupied theaters of combat the war meant hell on earth: suffering and grief, often with little if any awareness of a cause or reason beyond

> the terrifying events of the moment. (John W. Dower 3)

Indeed, World War II was very violent. Atrocities of one form or another were committed by all parties involved; the Japanese, the Germans, and the Allies. I will examine only the atrocities committed by the Japanese, however, as they are relevant to the events and outcome of the trials.

There were a wide variety of means that the Japanese used to kill people. They were known to massacre with machine guns, decapitate with swords, drown their victims, or set them afire. There was a high rate of prisoner mortality because of maltreatment and torture. Twenty-seven percent of Anglo-American POW's held by Japanese died while in captivity, compared with only 4 percent held by German forces.

There also occurred murder in the form of lethal medical experiments. One reported incident involved a live prisoner who was experimented on by medical students. The teacher ripped out the prisoner's finger nails and then proceeded to slash open his chest and dissect his heart while the students watched. There were also numerous reports of gang rapes where the victim was usually mutilated or killed shortly after the event. Forced slave labor was also common.

Atrocities frequently were committed by the Japanese army during major attacks. The attack on Nanking was so thorough that the event became known as the "Rape of Nanking." Albert Dorrence, the chairman of the American Chamber of Commerce at Hankow, was in Nanking during the attack and later testified on what he saw at the harbor.

> The soldiers, the Japanese soldiers, who were at the head of this gangplank would occasionally walk up to this crowd of Chinese soldiers -- well, the Chinese people, most of whom were soldiers according to their dress -- would select at random three or four of them and apparently with no personal selection, just more or less point for three or four to walk on down. These several would walk on down this long gangplank, and as they passed the Japanese soldiers, the sentries, while they would casually walk out, walk behind them on down to the water's edge. When they arrived at the water's edge, the Japanese sentries who had been following them down -- apparently extremely impersonal in action, the disinterest impressed you, the impartiality of it all the way through -- arriving at the water's edge where the water was deep, the soldiers would kick these Chinese into the water and shoot them when their heads appeared above

water. (Arnold C. Brackman 188)

One of the most inhumane acts committed by the Japanese occurred in the Philippines. It was the Bataan Death March. In April and May of 1942, 76,000 American and Filipino troops surrendered on Bataan and Corregidor and were marched to a POW camp. The march took seven days and covered 120 kilometers. Over 10,000 men died along the way. Some of the survivors were placed on the stand in Tokyo. Staff Sergeant Samuel B. Moody was one that gave his account.

> We were beaten. The men were bayonetted, stabbed; they were kicked with hobnail boots...If any man lagged to the rear of the road, fell off to the side, he was immediately bayonetted and beaten. I saw many dead men, many of whom were my friends. I also saw two dead women, one of whom was pregnant....Many times I could look ahead and see my friends stabbed and beaten. Quite often I could hear groans of men behind me that had received beatings from someone in the rear. (Brackman 246-247)

One of the main forced labor camps during the war was located along a 258-mile strip of railroad track running through the dense jungles of Thailand and Burma. It was the Siam-Burma Death railroad built by Allied prisoners and Asian slaves. The depravity of this event was also expressed at the Tokyo trials. Dr. C.R.B. Richards, a British Army medical officer and survivor, testified about the camp he was at.

> I can imagine nothing more appalling than the conditions under which these men lived and died. It was in effect a living morgue. As for the camp itself, troops were billeted in huts which had been evacuated the previous day on account of cholera deaths....Coolies walked through the huts, spat, defecated, and vomited everywhere....At Upper Sonkurai Camp in August the latrines were flooded by incessant rain. One of the them had broken its banks and a filthy stream oozed through the camp area and padded under the floors of the huts occupied by the hospital....The men had nothing to wear except the clothing in which they were captured, and most of that had rotted or perished during the months of the monsoon. Protests by Allied officers to Japanese officers as high as the rank of general were met with vocal abuse and worse, including beatings with bamboo switches. If

there were a shortage of men for a given job, Japanese guards would enter the "hospital" and drive the sick out with sticks. Those who could stand or walk, worked. (Brackman 254-255)

The testimony by these men on the horrible acts committed by the Japanese contributed to the support of the trials by the American public. To what extent can only be speculated, but by examining the events of the trials themselves, one can decide whether the verdicts were unduly influenced by the Allies lust for vengeance, or if "true justice" was in fact administered.

## THE TOKYO WAR CRIMES TRIALS

> ...in this very courtroom will be made manifest to the Japanese people themselves the elements of a fair trial which, we dare say, perhaps they may not have enjoyed in the fullness -- in all of their past history.
>
> --Chief Prosecutor Keenan, May 1946 (Minear 74)

> The trial of the vanquished by the victors cannot be impartial no matter how it is hedged about with the forms of justice.
>
> --Senator Robert A. Taft, October 5, 1946 (Minear 74)

There are many aspects in the trial itself that must be examined closely to draw a conclusion about the fairness of the trials. As is shown from the quotations above, authorities differ. By looking into the motives for holding the trials, the precedents involved, the prosectuion, the judges, the defense, the defendants, and the setting, one is able to see the arguments over "Victors' Justice?" clearly.

The prosecutor at the Nuremburg trial of the Nazi war criminals, Robert H. Jackson, who was an associate justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, advanced the best case for prosecuting war criminals. The trials would serve, in Jackson's opinion, to strengthen international law. In particular, they would make international law effective against "the greatest menance of our times -- aggressive war." (Minear 11) By merely punishing ordinary war criminals, narrowly focused trials would not have dealt with the major crime and the major criminals: aggressive war and those who planned it. But the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials were intended to help prevent war in the future.

There were, in fact, some precedents in international law for prosecuting those who committed crimes against peace. In an appendix attached to the indictment, the prosecution cited forty-seven treaties, conventions, protocols, and other international agreements. (Brackman 85) Not surprisingly, the

defense and other authorities on international law disputed this claim.

In order to hold a trial, there must be prosecutors. Initially, the prosecutorial team consisted of 39 men and women recruited by the U. S. Department of Justice. Before the trial was over, there was a staff of 50 attorneys, approximately half of them Americans, and a staff containing 104 Allied nationals and 184 Japanese. Joseph B. Keenan was assigned to the position of Chief Prosecutor by U.S. President Harry S. Truman. Some speculate Keenan was sent to Tokyo only because Truman wanted to ease him out of the White House. However, it seemed wherever Keenan went he was controversial. For example, Frederick Migone, a prosecutor on Keenan's staff, recently reminisced,"He (Keenan) did not measure up to the job." (Brackman 55) Beverly Coleman, a defense attorney in the trial, said "Keenan was a good lawyer, but he was not the man to handle a trial like this." George Yamaoka, a Japanese-American defense attorney, said disgustedly, "Keenan was not a student of history, the Far East, or the war." It was also rumored around Tokyo that Keenan was an alcoholic. Keenan, however, did possess some good qualities. He was a good listener, negotiator, and organizer. Nevertheless, Keenan's background, prosecuting ordinary American criminals, and his volatile temperament made him unsuitable for dealing with the complex issues of the war crimes trials.

Shortly after its arrival, the prosecution drew up a charter. The charter called for a just and prompt trial and punishment of the major war criminals in the Far East. A fair trial for the accused would be guaranteed by the following provisions: public indictments would be plain, concise, and contain an adequate statement in the Japanese language of each offense, the trial would be conducted in both English and Japanese, the defendants had the right to choose their own lawyer, each defendant had the right to examine any witness after clearing it first with tribunal, and the prosecution wasn't able to withhold evidence that was relevant to the defense.

The tribunal also had the power to try and punish war criminals with offenses which includes Crimes against Peace. The following acts are crimes that individuals were held responsible for:

a. Crimes against Peace: Including the planning, preparation, or waging of an aggressive war that violated international law, treaties, agreements, or assurances;

b. Conventional War Crimes: Including violations of the laws or customs of war;

c. Crimes against Humanity: Including, murder, extermination, deportation, enslavement, and other acts against humanity committed before or during the war. Leaders, organizers, and accomplices participating in the planning or execution of a conspiracy to commit any of the above crimes will be held

responsible for the execution of that plan.

With the tribunal's charter in place and the building of the prosecutions case well under way, the attention in Tokyo was now focused on the judges that had just arrived. Sir William Webb of Australia was named president of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE) because of his expertise on the subject of Japanese war crimes. Including Webb, there were eleven judges, each representing one of the Allied nations.

The defense of the war criminal suspects was the last part of the pre-trial plans to take effect. It was not until a month before the trial began that it was formally established. The driving force for the defense came from three Japanese attorneys. One was Ichiro Kiyose who was thought by some to be one of the top lawyers in the world. Kenzo Takayanagi, who had studied law at Harvard and specialized in writing theoretical briefs for the defense, was another. The third was Somei Uzawa, the president of Meiji University. He believed that all should be given a fair trial no matter what their alleged crimes. There were also many American defense attorneys who later took part in the trials. All the preparatory planning for the trial was completed. The date was set and the prosecution, judges, and defense were ready to begin the trials.

The Tokyo War Crimes Trials or the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, as it was called, opened May 3, 1946 in the old Japanese War Ministry building. It took four months of around-the-clock work to transform it into a courtroom. There were close to 1000 seats, including 660 seats for spectators in the balcony. Each seat was wired to a translators' booth which radioed back the proceedings in Japanese, Russian, and English to the spectators.

May 3, 1946 was also the day that the accused were scheduled to plead to the charges in the indictment. Keenan and his prosecutorial team put together a well-documented case against twenty-eight Japanese leaders. The Indictment named the following men:

* Four former premiers: Hiranuma, Hirota, Koiso, Tojo
* Three former foreign ministers: Matsuoka, Shigemitsu, Togo
* Four former war ministers: Araki, Hata, Itagake, Minami
* Two former navy ministers: Nagano, Shimada
* Six former generals: Doihara, Kimura, Matsui, Muto, Sato, Umezu
* Two former ambassadors: Oshima, Shiratori
* Three former economic and financial leaders: Hoshino, Kaya, Suzuki
* One nobleman and imperial adviser, Kido; one radical theorist, Okawa; one admiral, Oka; and one colonel, Hashimoto (Brackman 83-84)

The defendants were accused of sixteen counts of murder, three counts of crimes against humanity or conventional war crimes, and thirty-six counts of crimes against peace. The majority of the accused were charged with plotting aggressive war against the United Kingdom, United States, or USSR. All of the defendants pleaded not guilty except Okawa, who had been dismissed from the court to undergo psychiatric treatment. At this time the hearings were about to begin.

In most criminal trials the prosecution's opening statement briefly summarizes the case at hand that it hopes to prove. There was no exception to this rule at the IMTFE; Joseph Keenan's opening speech ran about 20,000 words. He stated that the basis of the Allied case was that the accused had engaged in a conspiracy to wage an aggressive war in violation of international agreements. Keenan referred an exact chapter and verse in support of the Allied view that crimes against peace existed in international law. He reminded the defendants that Japan had been a signatory in The Hague Conventions of 1907, which stated that a country could not engage in war without previous and explicit warning. In the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, after World War I, the Allies, of whom Japan was one, declared that to commit a war of aggression is to commit an international crime.

Issues of international law were important to the Tokyo trial. So also were the problems with the legal process. Some procedural issues at Tokyo seem quite obvious to the untrained eye, yet these issues have lawyers divided. Not only did the defense find some of the procedures at fault, Justice Pal, Justice Bernard, Justice Roling, and President Webb also joined in the criticism. The issues that need discussing include the selection of justices, their rules of operation, the selection of the defendants, and the rules of evidence.

I. The Selection of the Justice

Originally, the charter for the Tokyo trial called for five to nine justices, one from each nation who signed the Instrument of Surrender and who wished to participate. The Far Eastern Commission, however, forced the inclusion of a justice from India and one from the Philippines, thus departing from the rule that the tribunal should have been sovereign during the war. India and the Philippines were not independent countries until after the war. The big principle to be looked at here is not so much the issue of sovereignty as the fact that all of the justices were Allied nationals. There were no justices from neutral nations, and there was no justice from Japan. The members of the defense felt that the accused would be denied a fair and impartial trial in this situation.

## II. The Rules By Which the Justices Operated

At Tokyo, no alternate justices were appointed; yet no arrangement was made for the replacement of justices. American Justice, John P. Higgins, resigned one month after the tribunal had begun to hear evidence. Higgins was replaced by Major General Myron H. Cramer. General Cramer's appointment was challenged by the defense on three points: that the charter had no provision for the appointment of alternate justices, that General Cramer could not be familiar with the proceedings of the trial, and that he had been an important figure on the Allied side during the war.

## III. The Selection of the Accused

Two aspects in the selection of the accused deserve attention. First, all individuals accused at Tokyo were Japanese, and no one from any other country was accused. The selection of which of the Japanese to prosecute was arbitrary to some extent; there were many borderline cases.

## IV. Rules of Evidence

The procedures regarding evidence were very loose, and the prosecution could use almost any material it wanted. On the other hand, the judges treated evidence for the defense more strictly. Evidence showing that Japanese forces restored peace and tranquility in China and evidence about the state of affairs in China before the Japanese forces moved in was banned by the prosecution.

## VERDICT AND REACTIONS

After two and a half years of litigation, the trial was finally coming to a close. On November 4-12, 1948, the tribunal rendered its verdict. It took seven months to prepare the judgement in which the tribunal rejected challenges to its own jurisdiction and rendered judgement on the accused.

There had been seven challenges to the tribunals jurisdiction. The first four, are worthy of note: They ran as follows:

I. The Allied Powers acting through the Supreme Commander have no authority to include in the Charter of the Tribunal and to designate as justifiable "Crimes against Peace";

II. Aggressive war is not per se illegal and the Pact of Paris of 1928 renouncing war as an instrument of national policy does not enlarge the meaning of war crimes nor constitute war a crime;

III. War is the act of a nation for which there is no individual responsibility under international law;

IV. The provisoins of the Charter are "ex post facto" legislation and therefore illegal. (Minear 26-27)

The tribunal rejected these challenges because it found the law of the charter decisive and binding. In support of the legality of the charter, the tribunal claimed that it was an expression of international law.

After the challenges had been discussed, the tribunal read the verdict -- guilty as charged. The sentences included: death by hanging for seven men, including Tojo and Hirota; life imprisonment for sixteen; twenty years' imprisonment for one; and seven years' imprisonment for Shigemitsu. Okawa had been deemed unfit for the trial and two of the defendants died during the proceedings.

In May 1983, there was an International Symposium on the Tokyo War Crimes Trial held in Japan. Attending were former participants, scholars, and intellectuals who came from the United States, Europe, and other Asian countries. The published proceedings provide a great diversity of opinion about the effects of the trials.

In general, the participants from Asia agreed that the trials were more political than legal. For example, Onuma Yasuaki, an international law professor at the University of Tokyo, claimed the trials merely showed that "might makes right." (Onuma Yasuaki 45) He observed that the emperor was not tried, even though he was technically responsible for all acts of the government. A Burmese professor of history indicated that his countrymen also saw the trials as an example of "victors' justice." (Than Tun, "Comments" in Yasuaki 101-102) A Korean law professor also agreed that the trials reflected a double standard of justice. (Paik Choong-Hyun, "Comments" in Yasuaki 52) He also noted that many of the atrocities the Japanese committed against people in Asia went unprosecuted.

However, more positively, some of the Japanese participants saw moral or educational lessons to be learned from the trial. These commentators sought to affirm the democracy and pacifism imposed by the post-war constitution. One speaker opposed the attempt in Japan in the 1980's to treat positively the "Greater East Asian War." The Japanese chairman of the final session was concerned that the Japanese still felt contempt toward other Asian people. Generally, there was an attitude seeking to oppose militarism and racism. Despite the injustices of the trial, the Japanese during the war were guilty of moral offenses. (Ienaga Saburo "The Historical Significance of the Tokyo Trial" in Yasuaki 168 & Hosoya Chihiro "Remarks by Chair" in Yasuaki 206)

The Americans and Europeans who participated in the Symposium generally agreed with the consensus of the Japanese speakers. On the one hand, the trials were unfair and did represent "victors' justice." The dropping of the atomic bombs and American conduct during the Vietnam War clearly indicated that the Japanese did not have a monopoly on war crimes. On

the other hand, like the Japanese, the Western participants also noted the moral and educational lessons of the war crimes trials.

## CONCLUSION

The decision to have war crimes trials must be seen as one alternative for the Allies after their victory in 1945. One possibility, apparently discussed by Churchill and Stalin, was to execute about 50,000 Germans and presumably the same number of Japanese without a trial. (Minear "Discussion" 195) Another was to let the so-called criminals go unpunished which was not favored by the public in the victorious nations. Doing nothing would also not educate the Japanese from whom the American occupation was to be an education in democracy. The third alternative was to do what was done: to try the major war criminals. Given these options, holding the trials was not a mistake.

It depends on what criteria one uses to determine whether the trial was just. Once deciding to have the trials, justice should have been more important than attaining convictions. Many valid objections were made about the trial's legal processes. If the procedures were fairer, then it would be more difficult to be cynical about the outcome. While the trials were political, as the critics have pointed out, they would have been more successful politically if every attempt had been made to have the conduct of the trials resemble justice as ordinarily practiced in Western courts.

The Japanese today do not seem to want revenge for the trials. Right after the war, the Japanese newspapers seemed to favor the trials. In part this was because the majority of the people were angry with the war leaders for having brought defeat to Japan. Unlike the Versailles Treaty after World War I, the losing side does not appear to have wanted revenge.

The trials had a positive effect in keeping the spotlight on the issues of war crimes in international law and in public opinion. Sometimes people learn by the punishment of others. Hopefully, the Tokyo trials reinforced the feeling that war is to be avoided.

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# WORLD WAR II HEADLINES: CLIPPINGS IN A CARDBOARD BOX

by Angela Bowman

He climbed the dusty stairs to the attic, his right foot thumping on the steps. God, he hadn't been up here in a long time. Now where was that old chair? The one with the ripped upholstery...Oh, over there! Now, if he could only get this box out of the way. He gave it a few tugs before he noticed it. He wiped the cobwebs off, and rubbed a hole in the dust to read the unfaded black marker: "World War II." He wondered about it. He hadn't saved any of this -- Arlene must've done it. Yes, of course. What could be in here.

He opened the box, and lifted out a book, heavy with clippings. He opened it gingerly, to find newspaper articles. Look at this -- "HITLER ENTERS HIS VIENNA" 1938. That's right, he remembered. We were all concerned, but Hitler still seemed pretty far away then. How wrong we were. "SUDETENS ASK ANNEXATION." Still 1938. Again, that was all the way in Europe. He got to know Europe quite well, before the war was over. The next headline was a year later: "EUROPE'S WAR IS ON: France and Britain Mobilize to Aid Poland." This was very bad. Hitler had Warsaw under seige. Uncle Peter and Aunt Sophie lived just twenty miles out of Warsaw, and when Aunt Sophie heard about the capture, she had a heart attack. She died. Suddenly, the war was at home. Even though Roosevelt warned the Nazis not to harm civilians, hundreds of people were slaughtered. Cold-blooded bastards....

And then there were the Japs. Jesus, all the stories they heard of Japanese atrocities. The man turned the page. He sat back, and caught his breath. The headline read "WAR! OAHU BOMBED BY JAPANESE." Never had fury risen so high in the country. People screamed and wept, and all the young men ran to enlist. We <u>ran</u>, he remembered. We could not wait to get to war, and kill those Japs and those Nazis. We didn't have a clue. God, we were so young!

The man put the book aside, and reached further into the box. His hands felt brittle leather. He took out his boots, and his belt. How many times did he pull bullets out of that belt? How many men had he killed?

Then his eye was caught by something green and smooth. He pulled it out -- he was afraid to turn around. Maybe it wasn't there. Slowly, he shifted the helmet, and looked at the other side. The force of the grisly recollection was almost enough to make him vomit. On the right side of the helmet was a blackened dent, almost a hole. When that bomb exploded, the shrapnel that hit him was almost powerful enough to penetrate his helmet. He would have been killed, instantly. He was lucky, and lost only his right foot -- the screams rang in his ears, he smelled the blood, and he

saw pieces of human flesh flying through the air.

He put the helmet down, and picked up a badge that he had worn -- "U.S. Army, 1st Infantry Division -- North Africa, Sicily, Normandy." He wondered how the rest of the infantry was doing? Most of them are dead, he thought wryly. The few survivors of the explosion hadn't really kept in touch. It was too painful.

He had come home after being injured -- Arlene was glad to have him home, alive and safe. He wasn't glad of anything. He was badly wounded; it was many months before he recovered from the loss of his foot. It was several years before he was emotionally well. And there was still a war going on. Even safe in the United States, no one could ignore it. They were surrounded by it -- veterans, ads, rations. Everything was rationed -- butter, meat, gasoline, metal, cloth. Women painted their legs because there was a shortage of silk for stockings.

Out of the box came a tag that had hung in the window of the grocery store -- he wondered how Arlene got a hold of it. It said, "Member of the United States Food Administration."

There was a stack of posters in the box. He remembered how posters promoting the war effort had hung everywhere. All kinds of messages. Work for the war. The guy who relaxes is helping the Axis. He took out a poster entitled "Men working together!" There was a picture of a soldier, a sailor, and a factory worker. Just because you were at home didn't mean you couldn't fight. Rosie the Riveter represented the women in the factories. Arlene had worked in a tire factory. She loved it; it made her feel "real important," she used to say. Then there were all the Norman Rockwell freedom posters. Those were classics.

There was a big emphasis on secrecy. He pulled out a poster with a picture of a sad-looking puppy dog under a gold-star banner. He held a sailor's uniform in his mouth. His master was dead, "...because somebody talked." Buy bonds to bring home our boys, fight for freedom and liberty, make sacrifices. Everone was a part of the war effort.

He opened the scrapbook again, the pictures. Pictures of Churchill, General Ironside, some pilots -- Oh, there's Augie! Then he saw his favorite. It was a painting of Roosevelt, at a table. Below were pictures of his hands in various positions -- writing, smoking, praying....those were good hands.

The next page brought tears to his eyes. "ROOSEVELT DEAD." No one could believe it. He had brought everyone through this whole damn war, and he died, only a few months before he could have seen the end.

The last headline read, "GERMANS SURRENDER ANNOUNCEMENT TODAY." The man

grinned. That was a happy day. It was over soon after that. Ninety-nine days later, the U.S. bombed the Japanese -- twice. The A-bombs had wrought destruction the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. He reread the ad taken out by Marshall Field's: "WHAT NOW, LITTLE MAN?" Surrender now, that's what. The war was over. At long last, the war was over.

He stared at the memories gathered about him. It was incredible how one box could hold so much. One cardboard box.

"Frank!"

"Frank! Did you find that chair? What've you been doing up there?"

"Nothing, Arlene. I've got the chair. I'll bring it down." He stood up, put everything back inside the box, and closed the lid. Then he picked up the chair, and went down the stairs.

## DEATH: REALIZING ONE'S OWN MORTALITY

by Kera Bolonik

"I used to wish for death
A lot of the time
Then I died
For a little time.
Now I wish to die
Some of the time.
But, now I know
It will be
For all the time."

--Beth, a forty-two-year-
old terminally ill cancer
patient (Kubler-Ross, 1978)

Death is one thing that nobody can prevent. Life can be prolonged, but immortality is an impossibility. The concept of one's own mortality is a difficult idea for many people to understand. This is mainly due to the fact the people know so little about death because nobody can come back to report about it. People have different reactions to thoughts of their own mortality; some deny thoughts of death, others are fascinated by the mystery, and still others are frightened because it is a mystery. This report consists of seven interviews with people ranging between approximate ages of ten to fifty years old. These people were picked according to age and background.

Benjamin Lerner is eleven and a half years old. About two years ago, his grandfther died which led him to realize that he, too, will die some day. "I realized then that my days are numbered," said Lerner. Thoughts of his own death started up again recently "after reading the play 'Our Town' three months ago. It's based on not wasting your life away. After reading it, I felt like I should do everything that I want to do and die with no regrets." He added, "When I look at my grandparents and I look at older people, it triggers me to think of my own death. Death puzzles me. I mean, I think about it a lot. It's not always on my mind but I think of my life span like maybe once every two days."

Lerner said that his feelings about his own death are usually negative. "I know people who still think that they are immortal. That bothers me sometimes. I'm not really scared at this point in my life. I'm just puzzled. It'll probably scare me when I'm old."

"Sometimes I think about what would scare me more, the thought of my own death or the thought of one of my family members dying, and for me to die before them is strange. I think first people are first to die. In a way, I am more scared of one of my family members dying and in another way, the thought of my own death scares me more."

Where someone as young as Lerner has realized his own mortality, forty-eight-year-old Sarah Ganon has not. "Up to now, I have never realized that I am going to die. I have realized that everybody else will but not me." She added, "I'm not as scared of my own death. I'm scared for people to miss me, but I am more scared of others dying."

Ganon tries not to think about death as much as possible. "I have a lot going on in my life to worry about. I think about death when somebody I know dies, but it doesn't come to my mind on my own. When I lose friends or family, it doesn't connect or lead to thoughts of my own death. I deny death."

"Recently, a close nephew of mine died. This has made me think about death a lot. He was very young. I've had

friends in the Israeli Army die unnatural deaths during a war. Three years ago, a good friend of mine died of AIDS. I feel anger, not because death exists, but because of the causes that these young people die. It's like a tree and their branches are just cut off. It's not natural." She added, "Nothing can really replace the fact that they are not there, not talking about it, not looking at pictures. I connect that you don't see that person anymore. When I was young, I didn't have the same meaning about death as I have today." As for realizing her own mortality, "ask me in ten years and maybe I'll feel differently.

Hardyn Moel is forty years old. She believes that people may fear death, but they don't realize it "because it is disguised in other ways like fear of losing people, fear of loneliness, alienation, illness, changes."

"I can't recall when I first became aware of my own mortality. I was never really faced with it. I'm sure that I dealt with it but I'm not sure when. When I was about twelve or thirteen, my Grandma passed away and that was the first time somebody close to me died. I may have thought of my own death off and on during adolescence, but I wouldn't recall it or deal with it until adulthood. I may be repressing what was scary."

"When I have thought of my own death, it was triggered when I had symptoms of an illness that had frightened me greatly and I thought that I was going to die. It turned out not to be serious, but it made me realize my own mortality."

"People don't think about death per se. The thought of illness leads to the thought of death. Death is sort of in the corner. I don't dwell on thoughts of my own death, but there are periods of time when I'm not feeling physically well and I become obsessed with whether or not I am well which leads to the question of mortality."

Moel added, "Death scares me because I don't know what's going to happen. I've thought of the possibility of an afterlife, but I haven't formed any conclusions because I'm not sure there is an after life. Once you're dead, you're dead."

"What scares me more than thoughts of my own death," said Moel, "are thoughts of the death of my children."

Rebekah Levin, who is thirty, is also more frightened by the thought of a loved one dying than of her own death. "When I think of death, I think of others, but I don't think about death very often, maybe once a month. Everybody I love is so much older than me. The consequence of someone else's death frightens me. I fear the death of one of my parents and of friends. I dread the thought of my mother's death. I have a fear of being left alone. When I think of having my own children, I think about what it would be like for them if I died. Thoughts of my own death don't scare me. I'm fascinated

by death. My father is a psychologist and he worked with terminally ill patients so I've read a lot of research about death. It evokes a lot of curiosity about it."

"When I was three, death was explained to me via my pets. I learned that animals die and that so do people. My understanding was a more cognitive definition than an emotional one. I don't remember ever having a fear of dying because everything was well explained so it wouldn't feel threatening."

"I felt omnipotent about dying until my early adulthood. In the last nine to eleven years, I've learned a lot about the concept of death through school. I don't look at death negatively, but more with an attitude ranging from indifference to positive feelings, or rather, curious feelings."

"I don't have feelings on my own death because I don't know what death means," said seventeen-year-old Becky Hays. "Life is something to be lived so it's useless to worry about something that one can't comprehend and will have to experience. It gives me resigned feelings because it is something that can't be avoided.

"The thought of my own death scares me," said Hays. I can't comprehend not existing. I'd like to think that there is something afterwards. I've always known that I was going to die but I have to go with life. I don't think of my own death very often because I try not to; I like to deny it."

Hays doesn't look at death in either a positive or negative light. "I look at it as a mystery. I don't know if it is positive or negative because I don't know what it is."

Death is a positive thing according to seventeen year old Tom Brody. Last spring, Brody and his father almost died during a scuba-diving accident. "That was when I started realizing my own mortality and thinking about God. The only reason people believe in God is because they are afraid of death because they want an answer and a feeling like they are going someplace and are productive."

"My thoughts of my own death are usually masked by thoughts about the existence of God. I'm not really scared of my own death. I'll probably feel scared when it comes closer, but not really now. There's too much life to live left, but even if I did die soon, I wouldn't have to worry about death anymore. If a member of my family died, on the other hand, or a friend, well the saying goes 'no man is an island.' It would put a damper on my society if someone close to me dies."

Ruth Engel, age forty-two, has also had a near death experience. "I felt angry at the time because it would have been an unnecessary death and it could have been prevented. I felt helpless. I've been thinking about death more

lately than before because I just had a birthday and I'm getting older. My father is pretty old, also. I usually don't think about death a lot, but when I was very ill, there was a threat of death and, at the time, I thought a lot about death. I didn't reallly realize my own mortality until about early adulthood although I might have first realized it when I was fourteen when a friend of mine died."

Not everybody is aware of their perception of their mortality. Dr. Elisabeth Kubler-Ross, a psychiatrist famous for her work with terminally ill cancer patients, used a technique developed by Susan Bach, a Jungian analyst from London. Dying patients do spontaneous drawings which very often reveal knowledge of their own death and of other feelings that they may have (Kubler-Ross, 1978).

When one conceives their mortality, this is an assumption that "One has developed quite a constellation of abstract concepts." To understand the idea that "I will die" implies "self-awareness, logical thought operations, conceptions of probability, necessity, and causation, of personal and physical time, of finality and separation." (Kastenbaum and Aisenberg, 1976) It bridges a gap between what a person has experienced of life to the formulation of a death concept.

There are three types of death fear according to philosopher Jacques Choron. One may be the fear of what comes after death, another may be the "event" of dying, and the third, ceasing to exist. People may have them all, or have some of these fears. These fears differ in their origins, their effects on individual behavior, and their function in society. (Kastenbaum and Aisenberg, 1976).

People approach the concept of their death with various feelings and ideas ranging from fear to fascination. The only thing that all people have in common is that we will all die someday and we will all handle it in our own ways.

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